LITERARY JOURNALISM IN ENGLAND AND EGYPT

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE ESSAY AND THE REVIEW

by

Abdul Sattar Jawad

Thesis submitted for
Doctor of Philosophy in Journalism

The City University
Graduate Centre for Journalism

November 1984

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In writing this thesis I have incurred many debts. The first is to Henry Clother of The City University, who not only carefully supervised my work, but helped greatly to build up my language and style. I am also very much indebted to Dr.M.A.S. Abdel Haleem of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, for his generous help in conducting the Arabic part of the thesis.

I also owe a debt of gratitude to Robert Jones of The City University for his invaluable guidance.

I am also very grateful to W.L. Webb of The Guardian and Terence Kilmartin of The Observer who gave me valuable information and advice. I have benefited very much from conversations with Alistair Sutherland and David A.N. Jones. Thanks also go to the librarians of S.O.A.S., Maida Vale and The British Library.

I would like to acknowledge the generous financial assistance of Afaq Arabiyya Magazine which awarded me a scholarship to undertake this thesis.

Finally I wish to express my thankfulness to Mrs Donna Fowler, Administrator of the Graduate Centre for Journalism Studies for accurately typing this thesis.

DECLARATION

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Abdul Sattar Jawad

ABSTRACT

Before the rise of the modern newspaper with its mass circulation in the 19th century, journalism was regarded as a branch of English letters. Journalism had universalized literature and enormously increased the number of readers. Many writers have succeeded in maintaining a fair balance between literary merit and success in the market through their serious literary contributions to newspapers and magazines.

The writers themselves found in journalism an open platform to express themselves in essays or reviews as well as printing their works in serialized form so as to establish contact with their readers. The urgent need of the press in general for both entertainment and education in its content led to a demand for gifted writers which stemmed from a growing and increasingly discriminating audience. The early nineteenth century, was the flowering period of the great literary reviews which tended deliberately to select works,direct taste, criticise, judge and influence both the writers and their audience in the literary process of communication.

Long before The Tatler and The Spectator newspapers and periodicals had begun to attract essay writers and to use them as authors of leading articles. Some of the papers, instead of featuring news, disseminated views or information on popular subjects or reviews of books, laying the foundation of modern periodical literature in Britain, while much early literature, itself, was accessible through early reviews and journals. The essay in its turn developed towards the review, in line with the nature and function of the great periodicals of the 19th century. The slashing style of the Edinburgh Review marked the beginning of a new style of journalism. Reviewing began to establish and set the limits of an integral type or species of journalism.

At the time when Lamb, Hazlitt and their contemporary Romanticists, became outmoded in their own country, there was a growing interest overseas in their achievements. In the spreading of English Romanticism and literature to the Arabic world it was Egyptian journalists who played the major role. The forceful influence of the English essayists revealed itself in the works of al- ʿAqqād, al- Māzinī, Mūsa, and their contemporaries.

The effect of English literature has been noticeable in the Saxon School of Egyptian Writers who were referred to as the Diwan Group whose influence was widespread.

SYMBOLS

A recognized system of transliteration of Arabic words and names is used in this study. The reader may find dots under consonants and lines over vowels in the way found in A New Arabic Grammar of the Written Language by John Haywood which I followed.

The letter ʿain is represented by a comma thus (ʿ), as opposed to the letter hamza which is an apostrophe thus (ʾ). The initial hamza (A) is not shown. The strongly guttural (ḥā) is represented by the dotted ḥ and so on.

Readers who are interested in producing Arabic words in the Latin Alphabet may consult: Mitchell, Writing Arabic, Oxford University Press, 1953, or the system adopted by the Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS) of the U.S. government.

Whenever a name has a different spelling, the one in common use is adopted here as in Gamal Abdul Nasser. The transliteration of Arabic words or names may vary in accordance with whether their European contacts have been French or English.

INTRODUCTION

This work exists in the middle ground between literature and journalism, in an area that has come to be known as "literary journalism."

It happened that English writers from the earliest times found their way to the press and enriched it with their contributions. Newspapers and magazines were very keen to secure the contributions of distinguished writers to vitalize their entertaining and educational aims.

Writers, in their turn, found in the organs of the press an effective vehicle to convey their ideas to a largest possible audience. This relationship eventually led to consolidating the position of writers in the realm of the Fourth Estate. The position of the "literary editor" was created, which entailed printing book-reviews, art critiques and other coverage of literary events. Literature, as a subject to evolution, passed into journalism in various forms modifying itself in line with the rise of the press with its mass circulation.

Significantly, the essay sprang into the stage of journalism and tended to establish itself as a suitable literary form capable of accommodating the modern requirements of the journalistic style. The essay proved to be the most widely used form by writers and newsmen, largely because of its elastic nature and the variety of topics it might cover.

As the years moved on, the English essay was modified both in form and content. It developed into the review, feature article, editorial and the personal

column, to give some examples. This French invention, the essay, came into its own in England in the hands of Steele, Addison, Lamb, Hazlitt, MaCauley and other prominent essayists, who were journalists as well.

The English tradition of essay-writing was so impressive that its impact was clearly felt over-seas. Egypt, a leading literary centre, was accordingly greatly influenced by English literature and English writers and journalists.

Interestingly, this cultural influence reveals itself in the works of al-ʿAqqād, al-Māzinī, Salāma Mūsa, and some others who happened to be journalists as well as leading literary figures. Aqqad and Mazini, in particular, did much to develop the Arabic essay and the review on English lines. Their great interest in English literature led to the foundation of the Diwan Group or what was referred to as the Saxon School of Egyptian Writers.

The aim of this study, which is largely comparative, is to throw light on the question of revitalizing journalism through contributions of serious writers of stature.

During my association with journalism as a literary editor for the last two decades, I found it important to open up this matter and draw attention to the need for maintaining standards of judgment and the serious function of journalism. The essay and the review will be the focus of this study as they are the two main literary forms

practised by serious writers and contributors to the press. It is necessary to sketch the leading periodicals and magazines in England and Egypt. This is because if a clear-cut image of literary journalism is to be depicted, it is because literary magazines in both countries played a prominent role in the development of the tradition and method of the familiar essay and reviewcraft. This, in turn, involves touching on the antecedents of the essay of which the review is an offshoot.

As far as Egypt is concerned, the study will examine the period from 1881 to 1952. After the Revolution of July led by Gamal Abdul Nasser in 1952 most of the literary magazines went out of circulation and the literary essay modified itself into a leading article or a column. Besides, this period of study spanned a period during which the impact of English culture and literature has firmly established itself.

Chapter I provides a setting for the subject as well as touching on the association of English writers with the press. A brief survey of the leading literary magazines in England is necessary to display the relation of writers with journalism.

The Criterion and Scrutiny receive mention although they were very specialized periodicals of limited sales, but their role in promoting the craft of reviewing deserves a pause in itself.

Chapter 2 examines the essay as a literary form and as journalism because of the close link between the two. Touching on the very early "character" and

pamphleteering illustrates the development of the essay as well as marking the formative age of English journalism. This approach foreshadows our purpose of offering an accumulated picture of the Arabic essay and its two forerunners, the "risāla" and "maqāma" in the following chapter. The historical sequence is required as an aid to understanding and logical comment.

Chapter 3 examines the development of literary journalism in Egypt in relation to the English influence from the British occupation of Egypt in 1882. It also offers an account of a campaign to translate as many English works into Arabic as possible and the impact of this on the Arabic language itself.

Chapter 4 offers a comparative study of the tradition of essay-writing and its relation to journalism. It shows the extent of the influence on leading Egyptian writers. The striking similarities between the English essay and the Arabic one stand as evidence of this influence. An attempt to pin down some categories of the essay is made in order to offer a better understanding of the Arabic essay.

Chapter 5 deals with the two leading exponents of English culture, Aqqad and Mazini. They were members of the "Saxon School" in Egypt. Treating them in one chapter is relevant because of their close relation and lasting friendship. This approach is also adopted in dealing with Lamb and Hazlitt.

In Chapter 6 Salama Musa is studied separately because of his different background and attitude towards

journalism. He stands as a major Arab exponent of the feature article.

Chapter 7 discusses what is called "book-journalism" or reviewcraft as practised by distinguished English writers and reviewers. In this chapter there is a call to look at the review as a species of journalism as distinct from other literary forms. Categories of reviews are defined here to support this new perspective on the review from a journalistic angle.

Chapter 8 briefly discusses the Arabic method of reviewing with some emphasis on the slashing tone and aggressiveness.

CHAPTER ONE

ENGLISH WRITERS AND JOURNALISM

- Journalism as a branch of English letters
- The association of writers with journalism
- Leading literary periodicals

Before the rise of modern newspapers with their mass circulation in the 19th century, journalism was regarded as a branch of English letters. Writers from old admitted the literary character of a periodical or a newspaper and found in them an important outlet for their writings.

The early magazines and reviews, indeed, did much to develop the reputations of writers and even to promote new men of letters. The fact is that journalism had universalized literature and enormously increased the number of readers. Thus it provided a suitable vehicle to express the whole periodical literature and offer writers a new arena to address their audience. Accordingly, writers closely associated themselves with the Fourth Estate whether as contributors, editors, or even proprietors.

Daniel Defoe launched The Review, William Cobbet The Political Register, Coleridge wrote political journalism, Hazlitt worked as a parliamentary reporter, Southey as a political commentator, and the like.(1)

The same can be said of Arnold Bennett, T.S. Eliot, Evelyn Waugh, George Orwell, Stephen Spender and other major writers and literary critics of this century. There is nothing contradictory in this if one accepts the thesis that literature can be considered as a sort of higher journalism; that is a literary production of journalistic character which maintains the standards of responsibility of the paper or periodical, bearing in mind that first class criticism of books, plays, music, and the arts will help to sell a paper.

Many writers have succeeded in maintaining a fair balance between literary merit and success in the market through their serious literary contributions to the newspapers and magazines.

They believed that periodical literature was a natural stage in the evolution of literary writing and that literature had to undergo a modification. As a result literature passed into journalism in the form of essay, feature article, column, and critique among other literary species. The use of magazines and newspapers usually develops a special mental habit among writers and readers alike, hence a mutual effort is certainly a necessity to enhance the function of instructing and entertaining through what was dubbed as "technical literature" or literary journalism in modern terminology. However, maintaining the standards of judgements and sustained taste must remain a priority in the whole process.

Writers and critics are well aware that magazines and newspapers are attuned to the needs of a mass audience and this means that they are particularly sensitive to changes in reading habits. This sheds light on their character and choice of different subjects and styles which attracted the interest of millions of readers who might, sometimes, find it difficult to read a whole book.

Magazines and newspapers have the advantage of diversity in dealing with a variety of topics and accessibility in being easily produced and cheaply sold which could undoubtedly give rise to successful

commercial speculation. Consequently, the flow of periodicals led, in turn, to a remarkable spread in the reading habit which was marked by a tendency towards variety, entertainment, and cheap access to journalism carrying up-to-the-minute news.

The writers themselves found in journalism an open platform to express themselves in essays or reviews as well as printing their works in serialized form so as to establish contact with their readers. This process led to the development of the critical function and extended the aesthetic debate partly because the journalist of old was controlled by a sense of the dignity of his profession. Further, the writers who contributed to the major periodicals were able to sustain themselves financially by writing literary journalism, yet the increasing professionalization of the writer himself might be considered one of the most significant developments affecting the freedom and liberalisation of literature.

In this undertaking, the serious writer may on the one hand risk his artistic standards by moving in the direction of journalism, or risk his audience by moving in the direction of art. This difficulty has been increased since the public has turned somewhat from imaginative literature and the market for literary journalism has declined. This change in reading habits explains the disappearance of the three-decker novel and the spread of 'railway reading'. Of course, serious journalism tends to create and maintain a coherent and responsible reading public, if it is seriously

concerned for the function of criticism, bearing in mind that genuine criticism demands from the reader a real effort and continual adjustment.

Journalism is a force at work in society, so undoubtedly the success of any periodical or paper depends on a class of educated readers who are keen to be guided and well informed by a respectable and responsible press. On the other hand we have to be aware that the rise and development of literature and the arts also depend on the emergence of a new cultivated audience. Therefore, the full rein offered to some writers must be carefully observed because there are writers who are eager to see themselves in a world of continual discussion and controversy.

This is a justified tendency, but it could sometimes draw the steps of the writer into the morass of hack literature; Grub Street journalism could offer an awful warning. And it is clear in many respects, that the opportunities for commercial success from literature have grown greater in the last hundred years. Success could stand as a real temptation, attracting promising writers in the early stage of their literary career, so that they would look at themselves as working in a business and not genuine writers faithful to their literary profession and its aesthetic and moral values.

Writers such as these are aware of the need of the monthlies or weeklies and daily papers for their contributions in any literary journalistic venture as Isaac Disraeli remarked:

> The invention of Reviews, in the form which they have at length gradually assumed, could not have existed but in the most polished ages of literature; for without a constant supply of authors and a refined spirit of criticism, they could not excite a perpetual interest among the lovers of literature.
>
> The publications are the chronicles of taste and science, and present the existing state of the public mind... Multifarious writings produced multifarious structures and public criticism reached such perfection, that taste was generally diffused... To the lovers of literature these volumes, when they have out-lived their year, are not unimportant. They constitute a great portion of literary history, and are indeed the annals of the public...(2)

No one denies the close relation between literature and journalism; they walk hand in hand, but one has to be alert to the temptations of the market and of publicity, which might considerably damage the literary merit a writer is accorded. Nowadays many writers take up professional writing jobs in television, journalism or advertising and tend to stay there; some have succeeded in sustaining their literary esteem but some, on the other hand, have lost their literary prestige.

This interaction of journalism and the art of literature, however, does not mean that there is no difference between a journalist and a serious man of letters. In the last analysis it could mean that literary criticism in the press, as far as we are concerned, is the application of thought to the business of writing and that every serious cultural paper tends to have serious reviews, critiques and

essays by remarkable men of letters.

The main aim of any paper or periodical is to reach a public of a certain number of readers, although they may be of different levels of education. This means that it needs an organization such as the modern press to play the role of a middleman between writers and their readership and such a press should be characterised by book-reviews, art, and theatre criticism, advertisements and cultural articles.

If the press claims any role in shaping public opinion, it must therefore appeal to different levels of taste by the variety of subjects published and even by the standard of language used or what is called nowadays, "newsman's English". But it is worth noting that journalistic criticism tends to be more judicial and subjective than interpretive, leaving the latter task to academic criticism of the specialized periodicals.

Whatever ground lies behind this argument, writers and critics of art and literature maintained through the years a strong position in the world of periodicals and newspapers, establishing their names and communicating with a mass audience either through articles or through works published in serialized form.

The urgent need of the Press in general, for gifted writers is justified by the function of the Press to whether newspapers or periodicals fulfil and consider the needs of its audience. In order to achieve this there must be a place for enjoyment or other forms of amusement such as film or drama reviews.

The very function of a critic of art or literature is to enlighten and increase the enjoyment of an audience less knowledgeable than the critic himself. In the press, literature and art, writers and critics tend to blend instruction with amusement, and the fact that the management of a paper or periodical gives priority to entertainment, light subjects and variety in the topics dealt with, illustrates this awareness of the readers' wishes.

It seems that this phenomenon increases the difficulty facing the task of critics who are eager to invite the reader to perceive the truth of the text and enjoy the entertainment.

However, it could also emphasise the significance of journalistic criticism conducted by brilliant writers and critics. In other words, it could mean that "the real vitality in English discourse is to be found not in the academies, but in the columns of journalism." The Spectator thinks the blame lies with the academic critics for their failure in nourishing the literary scene:

> Literary criticism... is now all but paralysed; this has nothing to do with book reviewers, who perform a useful public function and who in any case would never aspire to the dizzy-ranks of 'the critic'.
>
> I am referring to those critics in the Universities who publish long articles in specialized journals, who, in short, are a cut above 'Grub Street' and its environs. There has been nothing original from them in ten years. I have yet to read a contemporary academic critic who could write more intelligently,

> or read more carefully, than a good book reviewer.(3)

This point needs to be further explored because it may seem to deny the achievement of Dr. F.R. Leavis and his academic colleagues who did much in their campaign to vitalise the role of the University in the maintenance of high standards of criticism and in the process of education itself. However, what the Spectator says here is relevant to the spirit of Leavis' aim in his campaign.

It could mean, also, that the activity of criticism has grown much more a profession and a discipline which, in turn, led to formalizing the discussion of literature as 'literary criticism' which can be considered as one of the main achievements of serious literary journalism.

The significance we attach to periodical criticism, undoubtedly helps us to understand why the periodical essay is said to be the only form used by every major author or notable journalist, and why the Review, the Tatler, and the Spectator were among the most important enterprises of English journalism.

A brief historical account of the literary periodicals in England, we suppose, is necessary to highlight the development of literary journalism. This requires touching on some of the leading magazines which played a significant role in the rise of the literary press and in flourishing book-journalism in particular. And because of the scope

of this study, one has to be selective despite the importance of some periodicals of the 18th century, bearing in mind that our aim is not to offer an historical survey, but the selection has to be in a logical sequence. The Tatler and the Spectator will be discussed in the next chapter because of their tremendous role in establishing the tradition of the familiar essay.

The heyday of the periodical press was between 1800-1914; this was a period when the quarterlies, monthlies and weeklies had their highest circulation and widest influence which in its turn, led to an increase in the size of the reading public. In this period, the journalism of the book flourished as well as other forms which were expanding to fulfil the needs created by the developing reading habit and the rise of the popular press, magazine and book industry. The reviews were serious and critical. Books, particularly novels were receiving notice according to good standards because the reviewers were in agreement as to what was worth doing in fiction and what was not. The reputable journalist, often a writer, continued to use the methods laid down by Defoe, Steele, Addison, Swift, and Johnson to influence his reader by appealing to his good sense, good taste and social morality. This respectability of the periodicals and journalists enabled them to occupy an important place in the social consciousness of the English people, that "periodicals can best be viewed in the context of an emerging intelligentsia, who formed the backbone

of the reviews."(4)

The early nineteenth century was the flowering period of the great reviews which tended deliberately to select works, direct taste, review and judge, and influence both the writers and their audience in the literary process of communication. The vast increase in the popularity of newspapers in the nineteenth century was partly due to the collaboration between the writers who belonged to the world of art and the journalists who belonged to the world of commerce, as C. Gillie said:

> "The growth of the mass circulation of newspapers and periodicals was especially caused by a combination of the highly developed English Commercial consciousness and the universal literacy made possible by the establishment of state education in 1870. Hitherto journalists, publishers, newspaper editors and newspaper proprietors had chiefly been faced by well educated and critical public which required information from them and knew the difference between information, opinion and entertainment".(5)

The growth of mass literacy provided the means for reading many other things, and that the writer began to think of his task in terms of a higher form of understanding since all the public was his audience. He was unlike the writers nowadays whose primary medium of print has been surpassed by radio or television which like books and periodicals reproduce stories, plays and other works of literature. This phenomenon encouraged writers who first published

for a small public to move to the commercial market in due course, and they even tended to get into salaried journalism. It also throws light on the influence and position held by the press and that it had an important authority, not mere transmission of news and literary gossip.

It is worth mentioning in this context that the critical function took on a dimension marked by a political bias more acute and harsh than that of the eighteenth century. This aspect reveals itself in the slashing style of The Edinburgh Review. It was founded in 1802 by some brilliant writers and exercised its influence on the Whig side in politics which led to the launching of the Quarterly Review for the Tory opposition in 1809. The Quarterly Review published many harsh reviews such as that of John Keats' poem "Endymion", which had a shattering effect on the poet. Such reviews were based to a large extent on political prejudice rather than literary grounds, although they did much to establish the English tradition of reviewing.

Keats himself is remembered for his contribution to The Examiner, a weekly periodical founded by John and Leigh Hunt in 1808. Although it had no political allegiance, it was famous for its radicalism, which caused the imprisonment of the Hunts for two years.

It is clear that these three periodicals with their political bias, were launched or edited by some brilliant writers who laid down the basis of modern periodicals.

The Edinburgh Review was launched by the most remarkable writers of the time; Francis Jeffrey, Henry Brougham and Sidney Smith, as well as other famous contributors. By giving more space to the criticism of political life, literature and art, it extensively influenced British intellectual life. Because of the Edinburgh's authority and influence, Sir Walter Scott wrote for it in spite of his political opposition to its policy and so did Hazlitt, Carlyle, Macaulay and Gladstone. To be fair, one has to say that its criticism was often just. It had in 1814 a circulation of 13,000. Scott himself strongly supported the Quarterly Review,(6), which was edited by William Gifford, who was succeeded by Scott's son-in-law, John Lockhart and later Coleridge's nephew Sir John Coleridge. The first number (October 1802) was a great success because of its command of matter and originality of style.

The launching of Blackwood's Magazine was also in opposition to the Edinburgh Review, but it called itself a monthly "magazine" to indicate a wider range of reading matter. In 1817-1818, it sold 10,000 copies of single issue.

The "magazine" type was a miscellany designed for intelligent entertainment but it did not confine itself to reviewing although it might contain criticism of books.

The review on the other hand was more confined to book-reviewing and sometimes the reviews were the theme of its essays. In short, the discussion of

books was the main characteristic of the reviews, while the magazine was characterised by its variety of subjects and its tendency to entertainment. Similar to its predecessors in the field, Blackwood's took its stand against the remarkable younger poets - Byron, Shelly and Keats - on political grounds and it is remembered for its hostility towards Keats because of his friendship with Leigh Hunt who was a radical journalist.

The London Magazine (1819-1829), had a brilliant literary period during which it published the work of contemporary writers such as Lamb, Hazlitt and Keats. In 1825, its first editor, John Scott, was challenged to a duel and mortally wounded after having attacked Lockhart of the Blackwood's, whose policy in literature and politics were at the opposite and conservative extreme to his magazine.

A brilliant group of contributors including Scott, Lockhart, the poet James Hogg and John Wilson, did well to enrich the writings of this monthly, which was oneof the 'Great Reviews' that dominated the literary scene and fostered the writing of short fiction and verse.

Among the most distinguished and successful magazines of the second half of the nineteenth century was the Cornhill Magazine founded in 1860 by Thackeray which later secured the contributions of Ruskin, Matthew Arnold, Mrs Gaskell and Trollope. William Maggin, who was prominent for his humorous

stories, helped Fraser in 1830 to establish Fraser's Magazine which secured Carlyle and Thackeray as contributors and was at that time under the influence of Coleridge's philosophy. It had a circulation of 5,000 copies and was the kind of weekly magazine, at this time, to attract readers and become more distinctly different from other serious periodicals in having greater variety of content and being open to imaginative writings. Some of its editions were principally devoted to fiction.

Thackeray prosperously addressed himself to periodical literature and worked as a comic illustrator and journalist, writing humorous and satirical studies in Fraser's Magazine and Punch, which was founded in 1841. He was considered at the time as the great counterpart to Dickens in his attempt to convey a panorama of the upper half of society, while Dickens set out in his humorous writing to convey the lower part.

Like Thackeray, Dickens had an overriding association with journalism. His first book, Sketches by Boz (1836) was a collection of stories and descriptive pieces written for various papers in the tradition of the essayists of the previous generation.

The Athenaeum (1828-1921) is well remembered here for its role to spread education among the working classes, so in 1831 it reduced its price by half in order to reach a wider public and in

consequence increased its circulation six times.

The second half of the nineteenth century saw a great expansion of the journalistic media, and after 1860 there were four magazines which rapidly won wide circles of subscribers, All The Year Round, Cornhill, MacMillan's and Temple Bar. Dickens contributed to the first, while Thackeray edited the second which printed long serials of novels.

Catering for the new generation of readers created in the Victorian era, the English Illustrated Magazine appeared in 1884 and by the beginning of this century, this type of illustrated literary magazine enjoyed wide popularity and could to a considerable extent, displace the non-illustrated monthly periodical. Among the successful monthlies one can mention the Review of Reviews which was launched in 1890 and enjoyed thirty years of success with approximately 300,000 copies of each issue including export.

Whatever position of importance literary and art criticism might occupy, the question of advertisement has become an important factor in the periodical press. At the end of the Victorian age the weekly political and literary journals were facing difficulties arising from the change of interest among their audience who were reaping the fruits of the Industrial Revolution. This period was marked by the increasing body of potential readers who welcomed the "Railway Reading" and had no time for more selective writings. These readers,

however, were eager for information and general reading matter. But, in spite of increasing printing costs and until the outbreak of the first world war, according to John Mason, "the monthlies and quarterlies reached the peak of their influence then began to recede as the article of public opinion widened and new forms of journalism appeared".(7)

Within this context, the Fortnightly Review could be mentioned because its foundation by Anthony Trollope in 1865 opened a new stage in literary journalism. Later it became the most readable periodical of the nineteenth century and secured very distinguished writers as contributors, among whom were T.H. Huxley, Frederick Harrison, Matthew Arnold, George Eliot, George Meredith, Walter Pater and William Morris. These names of stature were leaders of social and critical thought. The Fortnightly itself was a vehicle of advanced liberal opinion. Because of the influence and fame of its contributors, it set a new standard in periodical literature and exercised a powerful influence setting an example of serious journalism, fully aware of its responsibility towards its readership and cultural tradition.

Most of the general periodicals in the greater part of the nineteenth century, indeed, had clearly expressed aims to establish standards of judgement and to secure a bolder and purer taste for literature and politics.

We shall see later how this tendency was

revitalized by the vigorous campaign led by F.R. Leavis to sustain high standards of appreciation and maintain the English tradition, together with the English language in good order. Leavis was aware of the shaping influence which could be achieved by journalistic discourse:

> The thinness and surface liveliness of the writing, the crude, elementary prose, carefully constructed in phrases and simple sentences so as to read with the maximum of ease, of modern popular novelists at all levels approximate as nearly as possible to the style of the journalist and this is not surprising when we recollect how close is the connection between popular novel and magazine story and between magazine and paper. In fact, the line between journalist and novelist can no longer be drawn. The typical best-seller is also a successful and regular contributor to the magazine (e.g. Gilbert Frankau) or has been trained on the staff of a big daily paper (e.g. Philip Gibbs). Both journalist and best-seller are now closely akin to the copy-writer.(8)

To this interaction involving the writer and the journalist, we may add that journalism is not a closed profession, acquired or mastered through academic courses in the Universities, but to the higher levels of criticism talent and fine taste are the ultimate criterion. A faculty for writing may show itself in men or women who took up other occupations.

After the First World War many journals were hit by the rise in printing costs and the decline in the movements, in consequence of a period of rapid

social and political change. Although this was a bleak period in literature, the new London Magazine and Encounter did emerge but with heavy backing, however the lack of good reviews was obvious.

This decline did not single out periodical literature as a target, but it affected the whole of cultural life in Britain.

But there were remarkable magazines appealing to different levels of audience, and the most important of these were the Criterion (1922-1939) edited by T.S. Eliot, The Calendar of Modern Letters (1925-1927) edited by Edgell Rickword and F.R. Leavis, Scrutiny which ran from 1932 to 1953. Although each one of these magazines had its own objective, there were common aims shared by them concerning the literary situation after the First World War, and the necessity of appealing to the cultivated minority to keep up the momentum to sustain genuine critical judgements and standards.(9) To protect standards of taste, all efforts should be directed to maintain the tradition and its aesthetic values as well as enhancing the role of the Universities and their educational processes. In the 1920s and 1930s, there was an audience with certain needs and attitudes but it is not easy to classify that audience into clear cut levels, as Mrs Q.D. Leavis argued. And yet, the attempt to examine the exact nature of the periodical's readership

is significant to any serious study, since any serious journal appeals, necessarily, to an audience of likes and dislikes although intermingled. There were, in fact, different levels of public loosely linked together with nearly a score of literary weeklies, monthlies and a quarterly which serve to standardise different levels of taste. Q.D. Leavis in Fiction and The Reading Public, tried to draw the lines in this classification of the literary audience:

> The purely literary periodicals alone can be divided on internal evidence into three classes serving three different levels of reading public, and each would be of little use to the others' readers. The 'Criterion' will review only those novels which have some pretensions to literary merit and can be criticised by serious standards (it is common even in literary circles to fling the epithet 'highbrow' at it). 'The Times' Literary Supplement, representing a 'safe' academic attitude, will summarise and comment on the plot and merits of any work of a novelist of standing. While a whole handful of cheap weeklies appear to satisfy a demand for literary gossip and information about the readableness of books. It will be convenient to call these levels 'highbrow', 'middlebrow' and 'lowbrow'.(10)

It seems that Mrs Leavis was greatly impressed by the idea that modern press should use applied psychology to secure readers who are eager to be guided by this or that particular journal.

This specialisation can best be achieved by the specialised academic magazines which found an audience in the students and their teachers in university

departments of English throughout the country and was later passed on by English teachers in secondary schools. This attitude is justified in the case of specialised journalism, but if we talk of the general cultural periodicals the matter will be different. In the modern quality press, even those journals with art and literature sections, the modern journalist has been taught to select and arrange his material and write on it in such a manner that it can be quickly absorbed by a large public of different ages and tastes.

But if satisfying the reading habit becomes the only objective of a successful press, this would mean closing the press to talent, distinction, and detailed analysis of arts and literature. As for serious cultural journals, such attempts led to nothing but failure, while serious, effective journals stuck in the memory even after their disappearance. Some of them were reprinted in book form because of their continuity of effect such as The Spectator, Scrutiny, and others.

To stick to our point, The Criterion was very substantial and influential, printing most of major authors of the decades, including not only Eliot, Pound and other figures of stature, but also Auden and his contemporaries, many important European writers and a number of established critics. In spite of a low readership (approximately 800), it maintained a lively dialogue about life and society from a predominantly literary perspective.

Eliot noted the likelihood that the critic and the creative artist would frequently be the same person. He had, in fact, an international influence in the spreading abroad of literary ideas of considerable significance. In spite of the literary weight attributed to The Criterion, it ran into difficulties and its demise in 1936 brought from Eliot the depressing comment: "For the immediate future, perhaps for a long way ahead, the continuity of culture may have to be maintained by a very small number of people, indeed, ... it will not be the large organs of opinion, or the old periodicals, it must be the small and obscure papers and reviews, those which are hardly read by anyone but their own contributors, that will keep critical thought alive and encourage authors of original talent".(11)

F.R. Leavis, started his introduction to his book Towards Standards of Criticism, by saying: (The Calendar of Modern Letters was founded in 1925, and died two and a half years later, having been first a monthly and then a quarterly.) "The Calendar commanded the services of half a dozen really distinguished critics, each one better than any that finds frequent employment in existing periodicals and was able to count on good work from a number of others".(12)

The Calendar, indeed, was more specifically literary-critical in character, publishing stories, poetry, reviews and literary criticism and sought,

like its contemporaries, to create a literary context marked with warm debate. Its function was stated in its first editorial: "In reviewing we shall base our statement on the standards of criticism, since it is only then that one can speak plainly without offence, or give praise with meaning". In two and a half years it produced three anthologies of reviews and articles of permanent critical value showing strength, not only in the quality of its contributors, but in the high level of work maintained by the various writers who were brilliant reviewers as well.

But unfortunately its life was short and it failed to establish itself as an institution, and it may be relevant here to indicate to one of its comments on the critical situation and the difficulties it faced:

> "There is no longer a body of opinion so solid as that represented by The Quarterly, The Edinburgh and Blackwood's. The fact that they pronounced a vigorous aesthetic creed and were, therefore, of the greatest benefit to a lively interest in poetry, is forgotten, because they were sometimes ungentlemanly, and their place has been taken, but not filled, by the torrential journalistic criticism which is poured out daily, weekly and monthly, and is so enlightened and refined that the fulfilment of its obvious function is overlooked in its efforts to be open-minded and polite. There has never been such a rubbishy flow of poetry as that which is vomited by contemporary publishers, yet the reading public has never expressed its opinion through such mealy-mouthed critics. Smut alone has moved their costive sensibilities to a definite opinion, and then their violence was only equalled by their

> obtuseness. For the most part their opinions are diluted with the oils of snobism or social decorum".(13)

The Calendar's death, however, led to an important controversy about the critical function from which the Scrutiny emerged, to pursue the task. The emergence of Scrutiny was essential to assert standards of judgement and define tastes to secure a re-shaping of critical and educational thought. It was never a haphazard collection of articles and literary matters. Scrutiny ran from 1932 to 1953 and during this period Leavis argued bravely that the English literary tradition must be sustained by constant, sensitive and scrupulous critical activity carried on by alert and active intellectuals within society. This reaction was aroused by the commercial vulgarisation which affected the quality of the Western civilization and threatened the standards and cultural values of that society. Michael Tanner explained Leavis's attitude towards Western civilization in saying that: "Leavis's horror of the life which results for the mass of the population of advanced industrial societies is among the most impressive and moving elements in his work and is something that it's hard to dissent from".(14)

Leavis worked hard to enforce the idea that the importance of a great literary tradition was that it must constitute a form of spiritual life that can

sustain high standards and withstanding vulgarisation. Leavis' specialized magazine therefore, addressed itself to this process and was intended to demonstrate the exacting standards which are required of criticism. In this trend of thought, Leavis was influenced by Matthew Arnold (the development of the idea of culture) and by T.S. Eliot in his essays. But Leavis carried the matter to the extent of arousing much hostility because of his determination not only to assess contemporary writers with the utmost rigour, but by re-assessing fearlessly the writers of the past. He was the most actively concerned for the creation of a worthy and stimulating critical environment as well as providing in his own work and in Scrutiny, a body of criticism of the utmost consistency and distinction. To explain Leavis's campaign for rigour, one may say that his attitude has been emphasised by twentieth-century developments of the press, advertising, popular fiction, cinema and radio. He faced these changes with a perpetual effort to formulate the notion of culture in society, backed up by his wife and co-editors and disciples. Because of this successful collaboration, it would be difficult to look at Scrutiny apart.

Indeed, Scrutiny was a necessity after the disappearance of the Calendar and the Criterion. There was a vacuum and urgent need for such a venture to pursue a genuine critical task and issue new maps as Eric Bentley put it:

> I.A. Richard wrote 'practical criticism' but Scrutiny was practical and criticized. Cleanth Brooks wrote notes for a new history of English poetry but in essay after essay Scrutiny accumulated a new history 'in extenso'. Burke and Ransom extended the boundaries and issued new maps.(15)

Later, at the end of the 1930s almost the entire contents of Scrutiny were being written by dons and schoolmasters, and this led it to become an even more academic review in which criticism of criticism took much space. The discussion of literature was being held in cultural and literary circles. But Leavis has often been accused of over-estimating the function of literature and criticism. Tanner who is himself an ex Leavisite referred to him again saying: "In wanting literature to be "creative-exploratory" Leavis wanted to have his cake and eat it".

Leavis and his disciples were holding seminars and discussions in Cambridge, and in his house to discuss the urgent need to pursue the task of the former reviews and he expressed this thinking in his essays: "The disappearance of the cultivated public and the need for an intelligent and courageous critical organ were familiar at our Fridays." The demise of the leading reviews was one of the main issues under discussion.

This sort of literary debate emerged in the form of a campaign led by Leavis and his wife at Downing College, Cambridge, together with other academic figures such as L.C. Knights and D.W. Harding.

He had an overwhelmingly incentive presence in Cambridge. Their aim, of course, was to vitalize the teaching of English and Leavis by this course of hard work achieved great influence, not only in Britain but also in America. A.S. Byatt in reviewing Leavis's "The Critic as Antiphilosopher" said:

> For Leavis the study of language was the central way to understanding the "Life" of a people. The central function of Universities and centrally within them, of English Departments was the enriching handing on of this cultural "Life". And the life was the life of moral valuation, in writers as in critics."(16)

The Frankfurt School writers, in their analysis of the role of the press, shared with Leavis this idea when he concluded in his essay Mass Civilization and Minority Culture that "The prospects of culture, then, are very dark. There is less room for hope, in that a standardized civilization is rapidly enveloping the world".(17)

This reflects Leavis' wide-ranging concern with creating an intellectual environment to vitalize English writings and English teachings in schools and universities. He and Scrutiny achieved a considerable effect, but his acceptance of only a small amount of genuinely realized work which represented the 'great tradition' made him an embattled figure. However, he was one of the most influential critics in his search for the kind of help that

criticism could give to the reading public bearing in mind that the literary scholar like him, is very keen to reach a greater understanding of literature. He was, in fact, one of the most brilliant minds of the age, and his views in many ways transfigured the serious reading habits of some generations of English university students. His great influence arises from the fact that Leavis himself was an excellent reader, but not a writer par excellence.

Now, the disappearance of the leading reviews can be seen as evidence of a considerable decline in the critical activity in the sixties and seventies of this century. However, when one considers the field of literary production, one cannot say that literature came to an end, but one might say that serious literary dialogue has shifted from periodicals to other media such as radio and television.(18) Nowadays, we are not short of literary production in any way. What is obvious in the present situation is the fragmentation of the well-organized audience in consequence of the disappearance of those influential magazines, partly because of crucial economic factors, and partly arising from the growth of other mass-media. There are now many significant outlets for serious writers which enable them to form contacts with well educated readers who wish to enjoy the ongoing intellectual debate in society handled by big names and established media. Among these outlets one can mention the radio, television, theatre, cinema, and the book,

which offer opportunities for success. Writers and critics have to search now for new relationships of literature and art and make their way in an environment in which their best works can be appreciated and valued. Writers, in fact, are influenced by the social meaning a society grants them, the opportunities they have, and the kind of relationship they create with an audience. If we look at the situation closely, we see scattered periodicals, fighting difficulties to reach a considerable circulation, and the shift in the readers' interests is so strong, but not dangerous to the extent that can spoil the literary scene. There are, for instance, some good writers appearing in some good magazines which could be taken as a sign of revival in the world of reviews. There are many examples, but it may suffice to mention the Times Literary Supplement, London Review of Books, the Literary Review, and the art sections in the Sunday national papers. The book and art pages of The Guardian, The Times, and The Telegraph exercise, indeed, some influence in contemporary cultural life. It is a hard time, indeed, which urges writers and critics to revise the current situation, and then set out to launch a new promising initiative taking into account the intellectual climate of modern history. To illustrate this point, it may be appropriate to quote Henry T. Baker, an American journalist talking of short story writers:

> Writers of short stories who are ambitious to get into good magazines should remember further that certain subjects are in themselves undesirable, regardless of the merits of the story. Very few periodicals admit anything sordid and depressing. Writers like Thomas Hardy who have a dreary hopeless outlook on life are not welcomed in popular magazines, however deft their literary art.(19)

So, should writers follow this advice and push their way through the hurly-burly of journalism? The answer is absolutely no. Gifted writers are leading figures in their society, and so are brilliant journalists, creative scientists, artists and poets. In a questionnaire submitted to sixty authors, Mr. Compton Mackenzie in answering a question on popularity among the public said:

> This is a particularly difficult period for the professional novelist because the weekly succession of isolated masterpieces by brilliant amateurs is almost more than he can stand up to. Scott and Dickens never had to read the publisher's advertisement in the Sunday Times and the Observer. I have counted as many as fifteen works of genius published in one week. Allowing for the enthusiastic exaggeration of jaded reviewers who are always apt to overpraise a first novel, we may admit that a large number of really good novels are published every year; but if one studies the literary output it soon becomes evident that scarcely one of these brilliant creatures possesses any staying power. Two or three books are produced from personal experience and then he seems to fade out. I imagine that during the next fifty years or so the novel will only be kept alive by these more or less isolated efforts. I am convinced that the day of the professional novelist is dead, for as soon as he has done one or two books that neither the cinema nor wireless can do better, he will not be wanted as mere entertainer, because there

> will be enough, and too much, to entertain the world, and his only chance will be to become a journalist and play his part in the ephemeral entertainment that the increasing rapidity of existence is already demanding. Even now a clever young man writes a couple of novels as a way to join the staff of the Daily Mail or Daily Express. (20)

As the decades of this century moved on, it became clear that writing was linked to the large expansion of the media. Writers now are involved in film treatment, or a television play or writing to the radio, and that only big established names can stand the pressure. This means, to a fair degree, that the writer's experiment within the media is determined by developments taking place outside the writing situation, and here he is an employee. Only poetry can be excluded from this process, simply because genuine poets, naturally, deny such modern gods of the media. I raised this sort of debate with P.H. Newby in the Writers' Union when I met him seven years ago. We were discussing the present literary situation, and he expressed his concern at the damage television, radio, and cinema may inflict on serious literature. Newby said that the modern story writer, for instance, is looking forward to seeing his stories or some of them televised, broadcast, or shown in the cinema, so that he can achieve fame and secure his living.

The literary editors, on their part, are thought to be satisfied with the way they deal with literary output, although some writers are sceptical of papers'

policy towards literature and art. W.L.W. Webb, Literary Editor of The Guardian, put it in a way that might illustrate the point:

> To look as any journalist looks at his sector of the world, my case is to look at the world of literature and ideas and to report to the world what seems important, what new insight, new ideas in history, what pattern of a field of study seems altering that sort of thing. Essentially the function of journalism is critical as well as recording; one producing critique, and one producing information. And I don't think that necessarily means that one is doing something contradictory. I think that one can both introduce an idea and discuss its quality simultaneously. But essentially this journalism produces new ideas, new impulses in literature just as a foreign editor reports events in different sectors in the world.(21)

Mr. Webb is not alone in this argument, if we understand the nature of modern press and other pressures that affect its policy. There are publishers who are keen to see good reviews, good criticisms of art and theatre published in their papers. But their priority remains with what amuses rather than with what instructs. They argue that the function of the modern press is to reach the readers of all levels in society by reporting to them what is new and exciting. They leave serious, analytic reviews to the specialized journals. Anyhow, it would be quite irrational if we underestimated the role of the daily papers in creating well organized readers of art and literature, and in sustaining standards of judgment and the cultural tradition in society.

CHAPTER TWO

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ENGLISH ESSAY

- Tradition and definition
- Character and pamphlet
- Its development and relation to journalism
- Some leading essayists: Bacon, Swift, Steele, Addison, Samuel Johnson, Lamb, Hazlitt, Hunt, De Quincey, Carlyle, R.L. Stevenson and Macaulay.

Long before The Tatler and The Spectator, newspapers and periodicals had begun to attract essay writers and use them as authors of leading articles. The fact was that hardly any serious paper in the 17th and 18th centuries failed to secure the contribution of an essayist or to have him among its staff. It was obvious that the leading articles published in those papers were often of literary character, which was one of the major aspects of the periodical essay.

The English essayists in their own right were journalists belonging to a tradition in which a considerable part of the literary talent went straight into periodicals. On the other hand, some of these periodicals exercised an influence on essay-writing such as the London Spy which was launched by Ned Ward from 1698 to 1700 and was a specialized periodical known for its narrative style and variety of topics. One of the characteristics of the late 17th century papers and periodicals was that they were closely related to intellectual and literary interests which naturally involved essay-writing.

Due to this tendency, some of the papers, instead of featuring news, disseminated views or information on popular subjects or reviews of books, laying the foundation of modern periodical literature in Britain, while literature, itself, was accessible through early reviews and journals. The early press ventures, in fact, had been striving to secure a considerable

readership by printingdefinite views in the form of essays which tended to be discussions of books named at the head of the articles. The elastic nature of the essay as a literary form helped greatly to promote this trend which marked the beginning of the book journalism that come to be known as book-reviewing. Not only book-reviewing but literary criticism itself started as a discussion of letters in its earlier stages.

However, one has to bear in mind that the strict anonymity of the articles in the earlier reviews gave them weight and power which, in turn, helped the essay to take over the pamphlet and "character" writing. There was another factor in this development arising from the fact that early newspapers were too small to devote much space to editorial comments and feature articles. But it is worth mentioning that the pamphleteering in the 17th and 18th centuries must be taken into account by any serious study of journalism in Britain, since both the pamphlet and the essay were closely bound up with journalism, and at a time when the essayist was widely called a newspaper man in contemporary accounts.

Although the term "essay" encompassed several sorts of prose writing and even some kind of verse writing such as Pope's "Essay on Criticism", it had acquired, through different stages of development a wide variety of functions within the general category of the essay. Those who practised this form of

writing tried to introduce a connotative meaning of the essay in the tradition of Montaigne and Bacon.

But any attempt to impose a particular definition on this literary genre may fall short of embodying the different aspects of the essay because of its elastic range of length and wide variety of possible treatment of its subjects as well as the endless number of topics it can deal with.

Such a definition, then, could be drawn from the different kinds of styles of the early recognized essayists, both in the tradition of Montaigne and that of Bacon. Still, it may be helpful to come across such definitions, at least to look at the subject from different points of view.

The Encyclopaedia Britannica says the essay is "a literary composition of moderate length dealing in an easy, cursory way with a single subject, usually representing the writer's personal experience and outlook".

Addison, on the other hand, defined the essay differently, saying that "An Essay-writer must practise in the chemical method, and give the virtue of a full draught in a few drops". Dr. Johnson who is famous for definitions set in his dictionary and a remarkable essayist himself described the essay as "a loose sally of the mind" and referred to it once as an "irregular, undigested piece".

When Charles Lamb sent his "Essays of Elia" to

his publisher he wrote this dedication: "to the friendly and judicious reader". But soon he changed his mind and wrote to his publisher: "On better consideration pray omit that Dedication. The Essays want no Preface; they are all preface. A Preface is nothing but a talk with the reader; and they do nothing else".(1)

Ralph Johnson described the essay as "a short discourse about any virtue, vice, or other commonplace".

Because of its essentially metamorphic nature, the essay was so little defined before The Spectator, that the term might imply verse to some readers though prose was its normal vehicle. From this one may conclude that the essay is the most flexible and adaptable of all literary forms. And because of this character it has been brought into disrepute particularly in the 19th century with the rise of popular journalism. This disrepute was promoted chiefly by journalists who took the trivialities of life and dealt with them capriciously in the essay form.

To draw out the main features of the essay, it may be relevant to study it in relation to its early allied forms; the "character", the dialogue, the prose epistle, the pamphlet and the newsmongering periodical. These categories of writing were used in the earlier forms of journalism and literature and they attracted prose writers to come out of line and develop the essay form although in Theophrastus, Cicero, Pliny the Younger, Lucian and in the Socratic

dialogue there had been similar forms. However, the essay was hardly a classical form. Unanimously scholars have attributed it in its modern form to Montaigne (1533 - 1592) who published his "Essais" in 1580 and appeared in the English translation of John Florio in 1603. The prose "character" succeeded to the poetical satire and epigram and the essay to the eclogue; a pastoral or idyllic poem usually in the form of a conversation or soliloquy.(2) The popularity of the character, naturally invited the competition of the other similar forms of which the essay was the most notable. At the turn of the 17th century the character aroused public interest, particularly those of Sir Thomas Overbury (1581-1613) who was as an essayist, chiefly remembered as the author of Theophrastian character-sketches published in 1614. The Overbury characters were shorter than those of Joseph Hall's Characters of Virtues and Vices (1608), few of them extended to much more than three hundred words. Overbury has a distinct style and artistic aim of which E.N.S. Thompson said: "Here is no bombasted or fustian stuff, but every line weighed as with a balance and every sentence placed with judgement and deliberation.(3) It is lighter in tone, though still didactic, than the character that had become established early in the seventeenth century by the work of Hall, Overbury and John Earl and it continued to maintain popularity though unchanged throughout the century.

Ralph Johnson in his Scholar's Guide defined the prose character as "a witty and factious description of the nature and qualities of some person, or sort of people". In method it was analytical and abstractionist rather than concrete, and this in turn, helped the Restoration period to pattern satirical portraits in verse as a popular extension of the type.

It is worth noticing that the religious and political characters tended to provoke controversy by their tone and purpose. They tended at times to become argumentative pamphlets, and the pamphlet itself, like the essay, was intimately linked with journalism. Throughout the 17th century pamphlets were common, reporting events or expressing definite or fierce opinions on those events. The essay sometimes converged with the character in exploiting the writer's real or supposed personality, and Halifax's Trimmer (1688) furnishes an example of this. Character writing had been enhanced by the growing interest in the analysis of character although it had a long history in various literary and pseudo-scientific forms. Probably the development of the novelist's preoccupation with character may be traced back to the prototype of the character. On the other hand, the publication in 1592 of a Latin translation by Isaac Casauban, of the Characters of Theophrastus of Lesbos (371-287 B.C.) had some influence on writers and thinkers. The pamphlets of

Thomas Nashe and Robert Greene and Nicholas Breton had more limited influence.

Here we should bear in mind that, in the first quarter of the 17th century, the connection between the essay and the character had become clear in works such as Essays and Characters of Prison and Prisoners (1617) by Geffray Mynshul and La Bruyere's Les Caracteres (1688) in the tradition of Montaigne.

The practice of writing characters was carried on in the following century, but these tended towards portrayal of individuals rather than general types of humanity.

It is obvious that there was a religious and political tradition behind the essay and that both the pamphlet and the character had paved the way for the ease and informality of the periodical essay. This developed form later became well-instituted in the works of Bacon, Cowley, Swift and the other later essayists who did well in mastering this literary medium. The English essay, indeed, occupies a huge area in the history of British literature and also in journalism. There are so many names of stature in this field, but we have to be selective here because we are mainly concerned with the essay in relation to journalism.

Therefore we shall approach those English essayists who contributed to reviews or papers and had their essays printed there. This approach does not imply that we see no difference between a

journalist and an essayist, but we tend to say that the English essayists associated themselves with journalism and enriched it by their writings. Our aim also is to indicate that the feature articles, the editorial comments and even the column are modified essays in one way or another. Due to the accessibility and regularity of the newspapers and periodicals, the essay became more urbane and more wanted by the public. In spite of this positive development, we shall see later how modern newspapers brought the essay into disrepute by misusing its tradition and function. To approach the essay from the angle of journalism would lead one inevitably to emphasize the essays written in the tradition of Montaigne rather than that of Bacon. All the journalist essayists followed the personal, informal method of the French giant and left the formal terse and didactic Baconian essay to the academic collections of essays. It seems that they were already sufficiently aware of the nature of journalism and the paramount need to secure a considerable reading public.

One of the phenomena that draws attention is that Bacon is usually taken as the counterpart of Montaigne. Most of those who wrote on the essay set themselves to compare Bacon's essays in contrast with those of Montaigne. There are many examples, but to quote Alexander Smith may suffice: "Bacon is the greatest of the serious and stately essayists -

Montaigne is the greatest of the garrulous and communicative. The one gives you his thoughts on Death, Travel, Government, and the like, and lets you make the best of them; the other gives you his on the same subjects, but he wraps them up in personal gossip and reminiscence."(4)

This tendency may underestimate the achievement of Bacon on the ground that he did not set himself to battle against the current. On the contrary, Bacon responded to the French "Essais" promptly and greatly appreciated this new creation. He showed in his own essays full understanding of Montaigne's well-elaborated works and their technique and function. However, he did not attempt to turn the tables on the great French essayist or cry out against the new voice. All the more one has to be aware that Bacon possessed a remarkable intellectual integrity. The essay, as a literary genre, found in Britain a fertile soil, namely in the existing charactery and pamphleteering. In form the pamphlet was diverse; it might be narrative, realistic or allegorical and it might be argumentative. The pamphlet might be also written in the form of a dialogue or even in the form of a letter or the contemporary form of the modern feature story. A man like Bacon was bound to be aware of this tradition. We know that Bacon was fully aware of his age and the English literary tradition as well as the various types of writing current in Europe as well as Britain.

As a prose writer, he achieved an important influence on the development of the English rational expression as distinct from poetic and imaginative. And as a thinker, he was one of the most formative minds in European thought in the last four centuries. Bacon is remembered now for his Essays more than any of his other works. He called these fifty-eight essays "dispersed meditations set down rather significantly than curiously."

What is interesting in these essays, on which his literary fame rests, is the stylistic development. In his final edition of 1625, the sentences were polished and statements were made more concrete by citation of examples, illustrative anecdotes and quotations. His statements, in fact, were memorable as some lines of poetry; openings like "Men fear death as children fear to go in the dark"; "Revenge is a kind of wild justice"; "God Almighty first planted a garden". Peter Quennell put it this way:

> The dramatic opening is followed by a sentence that appears to deny the normal logic of prose, so oblique is the movement of the thought. Bacon's last aphorism is typical of his masterly handling of the form: a sudden precise statement, placed after the previous syntactical flow, focuses attention upon its subtle insight. In his varied and exploratory use of language, and in his capacity to recognize and express a complexity of experience, Bacon is excelled by Shakespeare alone.(5)

Shelley is reported as saying: "Lord Bacon was a poet".

We understand that Shelley means an essayist, like Bacon, is a poet in prose. It has been argued that the essay should be as much pure literature as the poem and that the essay as a literary form resembles the lyric. Yet, in Shelley's words there seems to be a stress on the personal element in the Baconian essay, although Bacon approaches a subject always on its serious, more public side. It seems that Shelley, who is a brilliant critic also, is alluding to those striking epigrams in Bacon's essays which remind us of Alexander Pope's short, witty statements in his famous Essay on Criticism.

This statement of Shelley's had been widely echoed by many other critics and writers who granted Bacon his poetic merit, writers like Alexander Smith (1830-1867) who was one of America's remarkable essayists:

> ... Bacon's sentence bends beneath the weight of his thought, like a branch beneath the weight of its fruit. Bacon seems to have written his essays with Shakespeare's pen.(6)

In point of fact, one has to admit that Bacon was true to himself and his philosophy of life. This aspect of his art is clearly seen in the different editions of his essays. In 1597 he published the first ten and in subsequent editions he expanded them and added others to them, but they always

showed a more academic and less personal approach than those of Montaigne. One may say that Bacon's academic essays, as it were, formed a tradition of their own and found followers among literary critics who produced essays in book form.

Such critics today are mainly concerned with academic literary criticism as distinct from periodical or newspaper criticism. By this trend, founded by Bacon and his late disciples, the conception of an essay grows larger, sometimes to the extent of being a book. But, as we have said in the first chapter, the true "vitality of English discourse is to be found not in the academics, but in the columns of journalism". In relation to this aspect, Montaigne's tradition is more closely allied to journalism, whereas the Baconian essay is closer to the academies. Nevertheless, an essay demands two sides of an equation, namely; thought and style, because an influential essayist must have effective ideas to convey in a well-elaborated style. The two sides of the equation must balance if form and content are to work in harmony. The aesthetic balance is necessary to sustain the standard of the English literary essay.

Montaigne, indeed, exercised far greater influence on English writers than he did on his native men of letters. This is apparent because the French essay was very late in making itself at home in its native country. In France we cannot go beyond Sainte-Beuve (1804-1869) in his "Causeries du Lundi",

a collection of literary essays in the full meaning of the term which were the forerunners of brilliant essay writing in France. Other 19th century French essayists of distinction were Theophile Gautier and Anatole France.

With Abraham Cowley (1618-1667) and William Temple (1628-1699), the familiar and personal essay became established. Cowley was the first writer of distinction to practise the essay in Montaigne's tradition echoing his personal touch in such essays as Of Myself. His Essays published in (1668), in spite of their moral analysis, showed striking features of personal preoccupation and individuality of style. At the end of the seventeenth century, writers became interested in themselves, and this trend had a clear link with the charactery and the analysis of personality. Cowley was one of those who expressed that sort of interest. He wrote of himself:

> It is hard and a nice subject for a man to write of himself, it grates his own heart to say anything of disparagement, and the reader's ears to hear anything of praise from him. There is no danger from me of offending him in this kind; neither my mind, nor my body, nor my fortune, allows me any materials for that vanity.(7)

In support of this point, one can touch on the growing interest in writing diaries in the late seventeenth century. The diarists like Samuel Pepys wrote for

themselves and showed no interest towards public applause.

In the case of Cowley, it seems that he admired the French master and like him, chose to portray himself in his middle forties. He produced, among other works, eleven essays in the personal vein of Montaigne. His essays deal with virtues and vices, liberty, solitude, obscurity, from a definite point of view, expressed directly in a fluid style:

> I never had any other desire so strong and so like to covetousness, as that one which I have had always, that I might be master at last of a small house and large garden, with very moderate conveniences joined to them, and there dedicate the remainder of my life only to the culture of them, and study of nature.... And there (with no design beyond my wall) whole and entire to lie in no unactive ease, and no unglorious poverty.(8)

The authors of A Literary History of England commented on this quotation saying: "Here Cowley states as his own an ambition that was almost universal among English men of his day, and does it in a style that is easy and far removed from the terse staccato that Bacon fitted to the essay".

Being a poet, Cowley was famous for his style in the essay, where he wrote with ease, flexibility and frankness. His prose was almost "modern" in style which marked a development away from earlier rhetoric and towards a simpler and plainer manner, although he quoted freely from both the ancients and

the moderns. Cowley handled the discursive method of his master Montaigne with great mastery, using the best words in the best order, by his poetic creativity. His sensitivity to stylistic values greatly influenced the major names in the world of the essay, especially those of the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

Like Cowley, William Temple (1628-1669) came under the spell of Montaigne. He was a model of the cultivated aristocracy of his time and his essays were regarded as setting standards for correctness and elegance of expression. Temple had a distinguished political career, and he helped negotiate the marriage of William of Orange and the Princess Mary. Thus much of his writing was devoted to affairs of State such as the Essay Upon the Advancement of Trade in Ireland (1673), and Introduction to the History of England (1695) and among his shorter works, essays such as: On the Origins and Nature of Government. He left behind him a substantial body of work, part of which his secretary published. He strongly influenced Swift who said that Temple "advanced our English tongue to as great perfection as it can well bear". For Johnson, Temple was "the first writer who gave cadence to English prose". His personal reflections and accumulated wisdom are expressed in such essays as, "Upon the Gardens of Epicurus", and "Of Health and Long Life", which were written in a clear and unaffected style. It is said that Temple and John Dryden

(1631-1700) consolidated the form of the essay which they passed on ready-made to Steele and Addison. Dryden, of course, reached new heights in his best known work in this genre in the Essay of Dramatic Poetry (1668). This was a critical essay in dialogue form and was the first systematic discourse on dramatic principles in English. It was a fine example of the lucid, supple and graceful Restoration prose.

As the years moved on this genre became more urbane and more established in the works of journalist essayists who set themselves to instruct through amusement by contributing to the papers and reviews of that time. This fact arises from the close involvement in journalism of those who mastered this literary form to the best of their abilities, and vitalized the role of the press itself. But by this time, the essay itself enjoyed a great vogue, taking shape in the hands of the brilliant essay writers. At the end of the 17th century, there were forerunners to Daniel Defoe's Review and The Tatler and The Spectator. There were The Athenian Gazette (1690-1697), Edward Ward's London Spy (1698-1700) and Tom Brown's Amusements Serious and Comical (1700), all publishing essays and literary discussions. And towards the turn of the 18th century, there was a remarkable development in the number of newspapers and reviews. Largely, owing to this, the essay became more polished and more suitable for reading by a wider public.

So when Defoe launched his periodical The Review in 1704, the English newspaper was less than fifty years old. As we have indicated in the first chapter, Defoe's essays and pamphlets did much to push forward the evolution of the essay-writing. He was a prolific journalist and wrote many other books in addition to his famous Robinson Crusoe. All his work had journalistic characteristics, especially "Journal of the Plague Year", using journalistic style to describe events he had not, in fact, witnessed.

The career of Johnathan Swift (1667-1745) in some ways matches that of Defoe, for both continued the tradition of plain, natural English. Many critics have found in this great humourist and slashing satirist, the model of what a good English style should be. Swift, at various times, exhibited an amateur interest in purity and decorum of language, and his wish to reform speech and style appeared again most favourably in his Letters to a Young Clergyman (1721), where he defined a true style as "proper words in proper places". Constantly, he is praised for his precision, plainness and purity of language, or as Professor James Sutherland said in his book On English Prose:-

> We can read page after page of Swift, absorbing the ideas completely and continuously of the author. Scarcely conscious, but never quite unaware of him. Swift still has his own unmistakeable voice, and no good prose

> has the transparency or anonymity of a window pane. What it is that we recognize when we say, "That is Swift", would be hard to define; but I suppose that in the final analysis what is most personal to a prose writer is an individual rhythm, a rhythm of both thought and language.(9)

Swift's rich style reflects his rich experience and the vital life he led. He began his working life as secretary to William Temple, then left him in 1689 to be a priest in the Church of England, and returned to Temple's service until Temple's death in 1699. Throughout the reign of Queen Anne, he played a large part in the literary and political life of London. At first he served the Whig party, but in 1710 he changed over to the Tories. He served the Tories by his pamphlet "The Conduct of the Allies" (1711) and contributed some numbers of The Tatler and The Spectator as well as some other pamphlets in the interest of the Irish. Although his reputation rests chiefly on his prose satire, he wrote several works which were not satire. Among his most famous works is Gulliver's Travels which can be recommended as a model of standard English, as well as being a fable that became popular for the sake of the narrative. His insistence on elegance in conversation is seen also in his essays and in his Complete Collection of Genteel and Ingenious Conversation, published in 1738. There he represents the 18th century ambition to combine clarity and strength of style. His interest in sustaining English literary standards led

him to advocate the establishment of an English Academy similar to that of France.

All of Swift's writings are marked by clean, simple, concrete diction, uncomplicated syntax and economy of language. He is, indeed, one of the greatest prose writers in English, let alone his poetry, which shares the virtues of his prose.

In the works of Richard Steele (1672-1729) and Joseph Addison (1672-1719), the periodical essay reached its acme. In Steele's case the essay had many of the elements of the short rough. In many of The Tatler and The Spectator's essays, narrative and character-study were combined with personal opinions of the writer. In this way, Steele and Addison attempted to display the manners of their society in order to amuse and instruct their readers. Because of the growing public interest in the press at that time, the influence of their essays is not due to any exceptional mental power of their authors. It is due rather to their natural journalistic sympathy with their environment and the people in it, in addition to their charming style. As a result, there was a contrast between entertaining journalism and the ingenious display of working minds, so the essay in this stage found a new arena to extend its reading public. This arena was provided by the remarkable growth of the popular press and other reviews that were widely used in the coffee-houses and cultural circles.

By the beginning of the 18th century coffee-houses had become the most striking feature of London life, and Steele himself was a frequenter of them. Steele was aware that different coffee-houses stood for different interests, hence The Tatler became almost as diversified as the opinions of its readers.(10) Before The Tatler and The Spectator, the essay, largely took the form of the letter, which is intimate but limited in scope.

Steele may have done his most agreeable writing in the periodical essay, but in his pamphlets, he was more stirring. He treated daily life, manners and behaviour in a way that showed his enthusiasm to educate people and win their approval. Thanks to his interest, Steele was a well-known figure in the coffee-houses of London who perceived that the literature of the coffee-houses must be light and informal as their discussions and so he put his moral counsels into the mouth of Isaac Bickerstaff to preserve a conversational style that suited the debates taking place in the coffee-houses.

Steele stressed the "polite way of writing" which he and Addison practised throughout the years of The Tatler and The Spectator's pre-eminence. The Spectator contains of course, the best of all examples of periodical essays in which Addison did his best writing, demonstrating the elegance, ease and correctness of his style. Here he wrote more papers than Steele did. However, it must be remembered that in The Tatler Addison found the opportunity he needed

and began to adopt his talents to the new literary art. But The Spectator surpassed The Tatler in style and achieved greater advance in thought. In the first essay Addison gave a sketch of Mr. Spectator's character, while in the second Steele introduced the famous Club. But the most original contributions to the theory of criticism were Addison's eleven Spectator papers (No. 411-21). He was rather refined and genteel, and there was a touch of the scholar in his writing, in spite of its being easy and natural. This tendency towards a refined, correct English made him a model of prose writing for more than a century. He discovered the prose style which suits the genre and he, in fact, mastered the essay writing when Steele discontinued The Tatler. Addison, in his criticism of Milton's Paradise Lost, in a series of papers showed a rigorous approach in defence of the English language, and he censured Milton for his occasional lapses into "low" and "mean" expressions.

In Paradise Lost Adam and Eve eat the fruits of Eden. Referring to this sin Milton wrote:

> A while discourse they held,
> "No fear lest dinner cool", when
> thus began
> our author...

Addison condemned the words quoted in italics as inappropriate in an epic poem, unsuitable to the high dignity of the theme:

> Since it often happens that the most obvious phrases, and those which are used in ordinary conversation, become too familiar to the ear, and contract a kind of meanness by passing through the mouths of the vulgar, a poet should take a particular care to guard himself against idiomatic ways of speaking.....The great masters in composition know very well that many an elegant phrase becomes improper for a poet or orator, when it has been debased by common use.(11)

Addison, here, is speaking of epic poetry, commonly regarded as the loftiest and most dignified kind of verse. This passage reflects Addison's wish to refine the English language, which he put into practice himself, and wrote essays, regarded as models of the art, acquiring all the polish and moralizing of the 18th century writer. He kept the balance between the personal and impersonal, dealing with serious matters in a gentle manner. This was the outcome of deliberate efforts, even before The Tatler, to form his own style. But it was in The Spectator that Addison really outsailed his partner, where he did as much as he could to omit politics from the paper and polish the English prose and make it objective and of national appeal. How beautifully Dr. Johnson, in "The Lives of the Poets" described the style of Addison:

> His prose is the model of the middle style; on grave subjects not formal, on light occasions grovelling; pure without scrupulosity, and exact without apparent elaboration; always equable, and always easy, without

> glowing words and pointed sentences.... What he attempted, he performed; he is never feeble, and he did not wish to be energetic; he is never rapid, and he never stagnates. His sentences have neither studied amplitude, nor affected brevity: his periods, though not diligently rounded, are voluble and easy. Whoever wishes to attain an English style, familiar but not coarse, and elegant but not ostentatious, must give his days and nights to the volumes of Addison.

The last sentence, bears, actually, a significant piece of advice both to stylists and journalists, particularly those who write leaders or editorial comments. It is through the brilliant essayists rather than the grammarians, that English prose had been polished and developed. Hence, any significant study of the English essay must associate a close exploration of English prose-styles with a study of the development of language itself. In order to vitalize the role of journalism and periodical literature, we believe that great care should be paid to elaborate the function of style to the level of being both creative and efficient. This point has to be stressed since the realm of the essay, to a large extent, has been taken over by feature articles, magazine sections and Sunday supplements. But we must admit that some newspaper men in some periods have brought the essay into decline by hack writing and lack of sincerity.

In the middle of the 18th century, many essays, literary in character, appeared in newspapers after the

essay had been established as a brilliant form of literature. The first "leader" of "The London Chronicle" was written by Dr. Johnson who occupied a spacious room in the history of British journalism with "The Rambler" 1750-1752 and The Idler and his other essay contributions to the Gentleman's Magazine. In these ventures Johnson was moral and didactic applying the tradition of the essay to the best of his abilities in a style described by Macaulay as "Johnsonese". The Rambler is regarded, after The Tatler and The Spectator, as the most respected achievement in the field of periodical essays. Although he made his reputation as a moral essayist, he wrote biography, criticism, fables in the form of a novel (Rasselas), book reviews and various articles for several magazines among which were, "The Universal Chronicle", "The Adventure", and others.

Johnson was aware that essentially, he was a prose man (he attributed this to his deafness), and because of this awareness he exercised great influence in the world of literature in all his journalistic writings, so that his greatest achievements rested in his prose style. It is true that his essays are longer than those of Steele and Addison, but the gravity of his style matches that of the matter and he showed seriousness in dealing with his topics. This balance might be illustrated by William Hazlitt in describing Johnson's style as "walking on stilts". Hazlitt here hit the nail on the head, for most of

Johnson's prose had a highly characteristic rhythm, sometimes achieved through balanced phrases and sentences or sometimes by using weighty, long Latin words. This attitude towards words has been named as "Johnsonese" style of which Boswell in The Life of Johnson said:

> He seemed to take pleasure in speaking in his own style; for when he had carelessly missed it, he would repeat the thought translated into it. Talking of the comedy of "The Rehearsal", he said, "it has not wit enough to keep it sweet..." This was easy; he therefore caught himself and pronounced a more round sentence. It has not vitality enough to preserve itself from putrefaction.(12)

But Johnson's use of some long words and his arrangement of clauses in balanced patterns which are typical of his prose, cannot be defended always, although very often he succeeded in balancing one clause against another. Examples of these are to be found in Alan Warner's English Style where he devoted a perceptive chapter to Johnson's style.(13) This soft flank in Johnson's style stirred Coleridge to attack him and other Augustans for dressing up trite thoughts in elaborate and grandiloquent language:

> Style is, of course, nothing else but the art of conveying the meaning appropriately and with perspicuity, whatever that meaning may be, and one criterion of style is that it shall not be translatable without injury to the meaning. Johnson's style has pleased many from the

> very fault of being perpetually translatable; he creates an impression of cleverness by never saying anything in a common way.(14)

Hazlitt, on his part, complained of what he called "Johnson's periodical revolutions of his style":

> There is a tune in it, a mechanical recurrence of the same rise and fall in the clauses of his sentences, independent of any reference to the meaning of the text, or progress or inflection of the sense ... his periods complete their revolutions at certain stated intervals, let the matter be longer or shorter, rough or smooth, round or square, different or the same.(15)

Johnson has also been attacked, partly, because of his neglect of the Elizabethans and some of his contemporaries which affected his reputation as a critic. As for the criticism of his style and his particular choice of phrases, we see no decent argument against Johnson bearing in mind that he had developed his characteristic style during a time of great activity. It is a style at the opposite extreme from Addison's neatness and plainness. If we take Johnson's style in the context of his writings, his style never becomes obscure or pompous, for even his complex sentences reveal the structure of thought. The style determines the success of the essayist, and to say that a writer has no style is to condemn him. Johnson was not the first to latinize the English sentence; Milton had already gone as far as it was

possible to go in this direction. One could almost say Johnson Englished the latin sentence. One has to understand that Johnson learned many of his Latinate words when he was reading early scientists to collect words for his dictionary. A fair look at his achievements, will give him his real merit in the history of 18th century prose where he was supremely individual and influential in practising the grand formal style. He marked a change of feeling against the easy, fluent, plain style which Steele and Addison established in their pamphlets and periodical essays. Under this aspect, Johnson's essays in The Rambler are regarded as much more serious in tone than the earlier periodicals, including The Tatler and The Spectator. By these essays Johnson's reputation as a journalist and a stylist was established.

As far as we are concerned, one may assume that Johnson took the easy journalistic prose of the early periodical essayists, farther into seriousness, vigour, and elegance of expression, in a conscious move towards a balance of phrases handled in cadence.

It is obvious that Johnson played a remarkable role in making the essay more suitable for the display of mind, and to bear significant content. This attitude, probably arises from his concept of the entertaining journalism which held ground in the early periodicals. In this respect, Johnson should be regarded as a pioneer in the process of vitalizing

journalism and putting it forward as a branch of English letters.

In the second half of the 18th century, literature was increasingly periodical. Hack writers were employed by newspapers which sooner or later became involved in politics. We have seen how Addison did his best to avoid this sort of dangerous involvement and succeeded in persuading his partner Steele to keep The Spectator a pure cultural paper. The success of The Spectator was partly due to this factor. So in the later part of this century, the periodical essay faced a sort of decline and absorption into newspapers as a "feature". This in no way tends to underestimate the achievements of the Romantic essayists, rather, it may be blamed on the growth of "hack" journalism during this period.

The Romantic Essayists

In the Romantic period the essay became a vehicle of expressing the personal reactions of the writer as he looked out on the world around him. There was a spread of new ideas as a result of the French Revolution (1789) which stirred up men's thoughts and feelings throughout Europe. The Romantic writers and poets were individualists wanting to explore their own thoughts, quite apart from the artificial diction of the previous age. This period saw a rapid growth in the number of writers, and a remarkable increase in the size of readership. However it is worth noticing that although the English

Romantic movement is supposed to be the work of a number of poets and writers, the writers, in particular, did not cohere into a movement. They tended to use language with more freedom and formality than the 18th century writers and poets.

The essay in its turn tended largely to be a review, coming in line with the nature and function of the great periodicals of this period, namely "The Edinburgh Review", "The Quarterly Review", Blackwood's, "The London Magazine", and "Fraser's Magazine". These ventures provided the essay with a new arena in which it appeared bearing full and lengthy criticism of some book or a formal exposition of some theory. The Edinburgh Review in 1802 inaugurated the modern type of periodical publication and allowed a considerable latitude to its writers. The Review set its literary standards high and was able to maintain these standards by paying for contributions.

This policy was launched in opposition to that of the late 18th century when the reviews and magazines were written largely by hacks who were influenced either by political bias or by financial interests. The success of The Edinburgh Review stimulated the rival "reviews" and "magazines".

The appearance of the "London Magazine" in 1820 was notable for printing the work of a group of brilliant writers, including the greatest essayists of the age - Lamb, Hazlitt and De Quincey.

These ventures, and some others cited above, elevated the essay in literary dignity and quality, tending to be from two to four times as long as those of Steele and Addison and the 18th century essay in general. The earlier newspapers of course were too small to offer writers a full rein or a large latitude, while, in the Romantic period, writers were treated as serious craftsmen, who should be offered, within broad limits, the freedom to write as they pleased. This generous offer, if it were so, was not accidental or due to the good will of the publisher. It was due, mainly, to the very nature of the age which was marked with individuality. There were new conditions created by the fusion of different factors. As a result, the familiar essay was written in a more relaxed and intimate manner than ever before.

The Romantic essayists, like the poets, rebelled against the earlier conventions to revitalize prose styles. The result was a variety of achievements. The striking fact is that the most significant prose of the Romantic writers is not to be found in fiction, but in the essay which paralleled the Romantic poetry.

Charles Lamb's (1755-1834) Essays of Elia are recognized as the outstanding landmarks of the genre. He has been highly appreciated as a master of English style and his essays have been recommended as models to students of English. He was nearer to Montaigne than to these earlier English essayists. Lamb's style

is marked by his concern to create prose lyrics, by combining humour, fantasy and sentiment together with his own genuine gift. In his manual on "Literary Taste", Arnold Bennett recommended the Essays of Elia as the best book for the beginner who wishes to cultivate taste in English literature:

> In the sea of literature every part communicates with every other part; there are no land-locked lakes... Lamb, if you are his intimate, has already brought you into relations with a number of other prominent writers with whom you can in turn be intimate.... Among these are Wordsworth, Coleridge, Southey, Hazlitt, and Leigh Hunt. You cannot know Lamb without knowing these men .... From the circle of Lamb's own work you may go off at a tangent at various points, according to your inclination.(16)

Arnold Bennett, probably, here is possessed by the fact that Lamb's finest essays are the nearest of all to poetry because they have the creative imagination, the privilege of poetry, as well as their richness in the charm which is one of the rarest gifts of genius. The essay "On Some of the Old Actors", 1822, is like a piece of poetry. Lamb seems a true Romantic in his Wordsworthian search for beauty in the commonplace, to him London is the home of poetic riches. Lamb, in all his writings, was really possessed by poetry; he supported the lyrical ballads in 1798, and he published his early poems in combination with those

of Coleridge in 1796. Coleridge was his intimate friend who knew the secrets of his heart, for Lamb had fallen victim to Coleridge's spell. Few essayists, indeed, have so tenderly and humorously combined poetry and truth in their evocations of the past. Lamb is one of those men of talent who discovered in his reminiscences the true material for his best writing.

Nevertheless, it is in prose that Lamb the poet is to be found, for he developed a prose-style of exceptional charm marked with a smooth, continuous flow enlivened with literary reminiscences. He was fond of remembering and re-living the past in a vein of gentle humour:

> To this late hour of my life, I trace impressions left by the recollection of those friendless holidays. The long warm days of summer never return but they bring with them a gloom from the haunting memory of those "whole-day-leaves", when, by some strange arrangement we were turned out, for the live-long day, upon our own hands, whether we had friends to go to, or none. I remember those bathing-excursions to the New-River, which L recalls with such relish, better, I think, he can - for he was at home - How merrily we would sally forth into the fields, and strip under the first warmth of the sun; and wanton like young dace in the streams; getting us appetites for noon, which those of us that were pennyless (our scanty morning crust long since exhausted) had not the means of allaying - while the cattle, and the birds, and the fishes were at feed about us, and we had nothing to satisfy our cravings - the very beauty of the day, and the exercise of the pastime, and the sense of liberty, setting a keener edge upon them!(17)

In 1820, Hazlitt had introduced Lamb to the editor of The London Magazine, which that August, over the signature "Elia" published his "Recollection of South-Sea House". It was the first of the series of essays that in 1823 were collected as Essays of Elia.(18) Here Lamb discourses about his life and times, and in Elia he constructed a character in which he could escape from himself. The original Elia whose name Lamb borrowed was an Italian clerk known to him in business. This collection is regarded by critics as one of the most successful masquerades in autobiographical fiction, in which he was able to exploit his one great subject: himself, his understanding of literature and people.

It was his essays, not his poetry, that elevated him to the rank of a major author, whom we read without caring much about what century he lived in.

Although the appearance of his essays in The London Magazine was a great success, Lamb continued to write for The Examiner and The Indicator. But it must be remembered that his association with journalism was not a result of a need or a desire to win public applause. He wrote as he said, "for antiquity". To illustrate this tendency in Lamb, the American journalist N.P. Willis remarks that he met Lamb on 27th December 1834, just before his death. In the course of conversation Willis remarked that he had bought a copy of Elia as a present for a lady.

"What did you give for it?" said Lamb.

"About seven and sixpence."

"Permit me to pay you that", he said, and with the utmost earnestness he counted out the money upon the table.

"I never yet wrote anything that would sell, I am the publisher's ruin".(19) But, as a matter of fact, Lamb was happy to contribute to the reviews of his time, partly because the periodicals were the right and suitable place to accommodate the essay which tended from the beginning to be journalistic but of literary character. There was another factor in the development of the essay and its suitability to be a vehicle of literary criticism. Sometimes, the books were the theme of the essay, and sometimes they were merely its excuse. Regarding this aspect, Lamb was very keen to contribute to the reviews as a critic recognised for his pioneering studies in which he rediscovered many neglected writers. He did a great deal to revive interest in the Elizabethan dramatists and some minor authors. But we must bear in mind that Lamb was uncommitted to any group of writers; his favourite topic was always himself and his delight was in old books, theatre and art galleries. He was in cohesion with his age, sharing with his contemporaries the display of one's own personality. Therefore, his essays were made up from his early experiences and feelings. He did not offer himself to the extent of Hazlitt's

self-revelation. Lamb was one of a minority of great writers who were recognized during their lives only by a small circle of enthusiasts. Furthermore, he showed some indifference to nature and once he told Wordsworth that he did not care if he never saw a mountain. In a visit to Keswick he affirmed he would not exchange Fleet Street for Skiddaw.

Whatever is said of him, Lamb remains a writer of unusual charm and his letters stand equal to his brilliant essays, or as Swinburne dubbed him as "the best beloved of English writers".

William Hazlitt's (1778-1830) career as a critic and essayist began when he joined the staff of Morning Chronicle in 1812. Selections from the essays he wrote for this paper were published in a series of books, beginning with "The Round Table", 1817. It was a London Whig newspaper founded in 1769, later edited by James Perry, who became one of the most progressive figures in 19th century journalism. For this paper, Hazlitt worked as a preliminary reporter, but soon he was filling its columns with far more exciting things than could be heard in Parliament: essays and theatre reviews.

In these discursive essays published in the Morning Chronicle, Hazlitt dealt with a variety of subjects of a kind previously unknown to journalism, including dramatic criticism. Through these controversial matters, the paper established a close contact with

a large public of readers.

Describing his literary burst of activity, P.P. Howe remarked:

> Once he had started, we find his dramatic criticisms, art criticisms, political letters and leading articles, "Common-places", and contributions from "An English Metaphysician", all going up together in Mr. Perry's columns.(20)

It is true that he contributed to several papers, but he was most associated with The Examiner, the famous radical weekly under the editorship of John and Leigh Hunt; Hazlitt himself was ultra-radical as a writer and journalist. As a result of his association with the press, the best known of his work is the large mass of miscellaneous essays contributed to various magazines. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that in spite of contact with various magazines, Hazlitt took the liberal side in politics throughout his life. It is his individuality that helped him form close relations with a very large audience who expressed their admiration of Hazlitt's bravery and brilliant criticism.

Ronald Blythe, in his introduction to Hazlitt's Selected Writings, explained his typical association with the press as:

> Yet he was never simply out for a scoop, and journalism in the ordinary sense of news-plus-comment meant

> little to him. A magnificent writer who would have preferred to work quietly on metaphysical treatises in the tradition of Locke and Hobbes, he was driven to newspapers and the magazines by the need to make money. He wrote spasmodically and with a certain resentment.

But to be even-handed, one has to bear in mind that established writers are not easily driven to becoming hacks by necessity. The newspapers and magazines, on the other hand, were in need of them in order to establish bridges with the reading public. As we have seen before, the reviews, for instance, provided writers of stature the freedom and full rein to write as they pleased and the result would be in the interest of the reviews. As for Hazlitt, he could establish himself for the literary life of London and continued his career as a revolutionary writer and journalist. He even quarrelled with most of his friends except Lamb. Such a writer as Hazlitt is not expected to contribute to papers or magazines without some resentment from those he attacked so outspokenly. His criticism of The Times may support this point:

> The Times Newspaper is, we suppose, entitled to the character it gives itself, of being the "Leading Journal of Europe", and is perhaps the greatest engine of temporary opinion in the world. Still it is not our taste - either in matter or manner. It is elaborate, but heavy; full, but not readable: it is stuffed up with official documents, with matter-of-fact details. It seems intended to be

> deposited in the office of the Keeper of the Records, and might be imagined to be composed as well as printed with a steam-engine. It is pompous, dogmatical, and full of pretensions, but neither light, various, nor agreeable.....The Times is not a "classical" paper. It is a commercial paper, a paper of business, and it is conducted on principles of trade and business. It floats with the tide: it sails with the stream. It has no other principle, as we take it. It is not ministerial; it is not patriotic; but it is "civic".(21)

It is true that Hazlitt came to London in search of a literary career, but, on the other hand, it must be remembered that he soon achieved his aim and found the friends he needed. Hazlitt, in fact, attacked great men and frankly criticized the living as well as the dead. His honest reviews of plays gave the common reader and playgoer sensible guidance. In believing that the critic had no obligations to theatre, manager or actor, he established his claim to be regarded as the first of English dramatic critics. He showed shrewd understanding of Shakespeare's imaginative method. Hazlitt, on Shakespeare, was fresh and incisive, expressing his ideas in a self-revealing form. Years of wide reading and hard thinking had made him thoroughly popular as a lecturer on Elizabethan drama and English poetry. He is still worth reading because of his unfailing energy and honesty in conveying his opinions, whether on theatre, painting or in his essays in which he did not follow the prose tradition of the

17th and early 18th centuries. He developed his own method apart from his contemporary essayists, like Lamb, who maintained Montaigne's tradition and practised in his vein. Coleridge, Lamb and De Quincey were looking back to the elaborate prose stylists, while Hazlitt was focussing on hard-hitting prose in what had been called a "literary colloquial English". Through his deliberate efforts, Hazlitt emerged as a stylist who commanded a wide range of effects. This can be seen throughout Hazlitt's greatest period as an essayist which started with the splendid series known as Table Talk, which began to appear in the London Magazine in 1820. Here, among the English essayists, he is distinguished by the power of his mind, uncompromising honesty, ardour and zest for life. This strength and cleanness of style which reflect his honesty of purpose, is marked sometimes by certain prejudices against Coleridge and Wordsworth. He thought that they, in their later works, betrayed the principles they had proclaimed in their earlier writings. However, Hazlitt in "My First Acquaintance with Poets", was the first admirer of Coleridge and Wordsworth, and it was his meeting with Coleridge during the year 1798 that radically changed his life, he remembered, "I was at that time dumb but now my ideas floated winged words".

As far as we are concerned in a study like this,

we find in Hazlitt a model of the brilliant journalist who highly regards his profession and his responsibility towards his readers. He offered his readers real guidance and conveyed his ideas to them in a clear, grand style. As a gifted journalist, Hazlitt discovered that the thing to do was to write while events and emotions were fresh in his mind. He wrote very quickly, probably because his essays were almost planless:

> Hazlitt characteristically lays down a topic and then expands upon it by piling up relevant observations and instances, expressed in a sequence of forthright and relatively uncomplicated sentences, the essay accumulates instead of developing, and it does not come to a conclusion but simply stops.(22)

This method of writing, probably throws light on his habit of interlarding his prose with extensive quotations of verse, making the essay a sort of personal anthology. But Hazlitt approaches his subject armed with a wide range of reading and a concise and energetic style that enhances his miscellaneous essays to an effective level of interest by which he reached a larger public. Not only a literary critic, Hazlitt was a remarkable art reviewer who exceeded his contemporary essayists in his knowledge of painting. Although he had no formal education, he travelled to Paris in 1802 to study art with the intention of becoming a painter.

He did, in fact, write brilliant reviews of paintings which were widely read, as those reviews of books and theatre.

However, Hazlitt in 1805 abandoned the visual arts and devoted himself to literature. He hit the nail on the head by his choice, for we remember now Hazlitt the essayist and critic, but not the artist.

From Hazlitt's career, we may suppose that he was the typical journalist armed with fine taste, wide-ranging knowledge and clear-cut judgements together with the talent to understand, analyse and judge. Writers like Hazlitt are those who lay the foundation of higher journalism. Even in his criticism, he played the role of a middleman but not the judge in establishing a new approach to reviewing. While Lamb was more essayistic, Hazlitt was more journalistic.

The other fighting liberal journalist of the period was Leigh Hunt (1784-1859), who quickly passed into journalism in 1808 to help his brother John in editing The Examiner, the famous weekly newspaper that won a considerable audience for its brilliance and daring. Hunt spent much of his life in the company of men of genius, Lamb, Hazlitt, Shelley, Keats and others, engaged in incessant journalistic and literary work. He started his literary career with poetry, but his real strength is to be found in his prose. He was a discursive

essayist who used the essay for picking up any unfamiliar subjects. He started quietly, with occasional ephemeral essays, but his first prose collection, Critical Essays on the Performers of the London Theatres (1807), excited both applause and anger.

Hunt was in fact, a voluminous reviewer and critic but he was overshadowed by his great prose contemporaries, Lamb, Hazlitt and De Quincey. In addition, the right wing Blackwood's Magazine aroused the public against Leigh and his brother John as dangerous radicals, in face of which the two brothers showed endurance and courage. However, his writings on public affairs gave place to his literary interests, and thus he poured out an unending flow of prose and poetry. Hunt carried on a great variety of activities through a long journalistic and literary career.

In 1821, he ceased to edit The Examiner, but became busy with periodical writing as contributor or editor. Later we find him in the Indicator (1819-1821) writing numerous essays and sketches with insight and vitality. He wrote fine criticism of music, plays and books. In 1822, Hunt arrived in Italy to edit The Liberal in collaboration with Byron and Shelley, but Shelley's death proved a death-blow to this venture. Back in England, Hunt published his impressions of Byron and Shelley in Lord Byron and Some of His Contemporaries, 1828, which debased

his reputation because of the personal animosity he exhibited towards Byron. For the rest of his life, Hunt remained an energetic writer and editor and launched some short-lived magazines.

Between 1830 and 1832 he conducted The Tatler, issued in rivalry with the newly-founded Spectator which was launched in 1828 as a radical weekly. Both these weekly magazines still survive, albeit with completely different policies.

Unlike Hunt, but like Hazlitt, Thomas De Quincey (1785-1859) was purely a prose-writer, whose work was mostly for periodicals. After a brief spell as editor of the Westmorland Gazette, he went up to London to write for a living, and was introduced by Lamb to the proprietors of The London Magazine to which he became a contributor. He published his classic Confessions of an English Opium Eater, in 1822. This association with London Magazine in 1821 was the beginning of his journalistic and literary life, although in 1819, he had made a more limited connection with Blackwood's. De Quincey's range of subject-matter was wide, touching philosophy, economics, politics, German studies in addition to literature and criticism. He served for a time as an important means of access for Englishmen to the literature of the late 18th century German renaissance. But it is noted that, during a long life devoted to letters, De Quincey published only two other books, Klosterheim 1832, and A Logic of Political Economy, 1844. His other writings took the

form of magazine articles. It is his essays and sketches that made him famous, particularly "The Confessions" which scored immediate success and was at once reprinted in book form. As well as his essays, De Quincey wrote some vivid biographical sketches of writers he knew personally, especially Wordsworth, Coleridge, Southey and Lamb. He also wrote numerous pieces of hasty journalism, for money rather than posterity.

After 1825, he moved to Edinburgh and began a more permanent connection with Blackwood's, publishing in it some of his finest essays including "Murder as one of the Fine Arts". Between 1834 and 1840 he published his "Literary Reminiscences" in Tait's Magazine which gave offence to the Lake Poets.

What is important for us is De Quincey's style in his essays and sketches. In his dream writings he developed a mode of expression based on thematic imagery in a pattern derived from music. Some critics name this style of rhythmical phrases a "prose poem". Here De Quincey showed technical originality as well as a great imaginative and descriptive power. He was well known for his startling language, based on long, elaborate sentences which might fall into a rhythmical pattern. But the modern reader may find his evolving sinewy sentences and phrases hard to chew. De Quincey is an uneven writer and had often found it difficult to concentrate his literary gifts.

As a critic, De Quincey is not so important, though his assessments of the great Romantics are interesting. A critic must be systematic, unbiased, while De Quincey was only capable of writing essays in a style of critical impressionism. It follows that most of his critical contribution to our heritage took the form of reminiscences written in an allusive style that did much to expand the poetic range of prose. But, in spite of his polished language, his approach to his subject tends to divide readers, probably because he overloads his language with parenthesis.

Sara Coleridge, the poet's daughter expressed her anger towards De Quincey's judgments in a letter, whose first part deserves quotation in this study.

Hampstead 13th October, 1834

The Periodicals have been busy bringing out criticism of his (my Father's) writings and attempts at sketches of his life, the last extremely incorrect, as you may imagine. It is very wrong of Mr. De Quincey to publish so many personal details regarding my parents in Tait's Magazine, his account is elegantly written, and does justice in most particulars to my Father's genius and to the benevolence of his nature, but there are many mis-statements in it, and a false colouring is cast over all the part which relates to domestic matters; but, my dear friend, is it not unjustifiable in any

man to expose the recesses of a friend's home to the general gaze? and what person of delicate feeling can bear to see the characters of those near and dear to them commented on in print? Mr. De Quincey has shown little dignity in exposing himself as an "opium-eater", and describes so many passages of his life which are calculated neither to do himself credit nor his readers any good, for the amusement of the public; but we may do what we will with our own: this new sort of personality is at the expense of his neighbours; however, I believe, poor man, he will stoop to almost anything which will put a few guineas into his pocket with the least possible trouble to himself and enable him to descend from his upper storey in Edinboro. Whence I am told he can never stir save on a Sunday for fear of falling into the clutches of a creditor....(23)

This part of Sara's letter does well in throwing light on De Quincey's attitude towards his readers and the press in general as a means of living for some needy authors. Nevertheless, it is his periodical writings, not his criticism, that have brought him many admirers, including D.H. Lawrence in the 20th century.

Now it is obvious that the Romantic essayists were individualists focussing on their inward imagination expressed in rich language and grand style. To them, personal Romantic poetry was a new form, but they were familiar with the essay

as a personal literary form, probably the nearest prose-form to the lyric. This tendency in practising the personal essay in Montaigne's tradition allowed them to seek a poetic language based on highly elaborated phrases and creative imagination. The Romantic essayists were indeed poets in prose as criticis have said. These essayists were men of a remarkable talent which enabled them to invent their own styles. The word "style" never meets the eye so much as in the Romantic period. This phenomenon may be a result of the Romantic writer's search to exploit the natural powers of English language. The French upheaval created new ideas looking for expressive language that could fuse truth with imagination. Wordsworth, Coleridge, Hazlitt and the other Romantics were greatly influenced by French Revolutionary thought. But it must be borne in mind that the English Romanticists were impressed by the revolt in France, but they responded in different ways as one would expect from people who were, above all, individualists.

When we move on towards the Victorian period, we see that the Johnsonian tradition of rather formal and elaborate prose continues right on undiminished and even enhanced. Towards the end of the 19th century Carlyle, Macaulay, and R.L. Stevenson recaptured much of the early nature of the essay by their graceful style and their expression of personal views.

Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881) survives today as a writer who dramatized history, which he wanted to be related to the life of the ordinary people. But what matters to us is Carlyle the essayist who wrote in an eccentric prose style, distorting natural word order and using archaic language.

His link with journalism goes back to his meeting with Francis Jeffrey, editor of The Edinburgh Review, who was in search of fresh talent and recognized Carlyle's promise. To the "Edinburgh" Carlyle contributed a number of essays, the first of which was an article on John Paul Richter (1827). His biography of Schiller appeared in The London Magazine in 1824. These periodical essays were collected and published in book form in 1839 under the title: "Miscellaneous and Critical Essays". Then the launching of "The Foreign Review" provided him with a new arena after a misunderstanding with Sir Walter Scott. In this Review he printed eight essays including Goethe's Helena, Goethe and Voltaire before this periodical stopped in 1830.

Carlyle was a radical writer whose views were not in step with the policy of The Edinburgh, so when Jeffrey retired as editor, Carlyle was kept on a tight leash. Later his friend John Stuart Mill opened to him the pages of The Westminster Review and enabled him to establish contact with Fraser's Magazine where he published Sartor Resartus in serialized form.

Carlyle, undoubtedly, was enormously popular in the Victorian era, but to the modern reader he may be a bitter pill to swallow. Charles Darwin remarked that Carlyle was "the best worth listening to of any man I know". It is likely that he believed that exaggeration could be effective in gaining the attention of the public. To achieve this goal Carlyle set out to employ dramatic and poetic devices and metaphors:

> The range of Carlyle's style is best displayed in "Sartor". Verbal coinages, elaborate metaphors, apostrophes; rhetorical questions, compounds of various kinds, and the use of nicknames are among its chief characteristics. The style seems to owe something to Richter but more came from Carlyle's native Annandale than from any literary model. It is constantly suggestive of spoken - or shouted - words; and there is testimony that Carlyle talked almost as he wrote.(24)

It is thought that his prose style as well as his evaluation of past and present are a result of his religious experience undergone in his early years. But it seems more likely that Carlyle found the 18th century tradition of the essay unsuitable, then set out to address his reader as a preacher talking stirring poetry, and employing Biblical rhythms. In this way he developed his highly individual manner of writing. Emerson in 1847 visited Carlyle for the second time in England and said of his style: "In Carlyle, as in Byron, one is struck more with the rhetoric than the matter.

He has manly superiority rather than intellectuality, and so makes good hard hits all the time. There is more character than intellect in every sentence, herein strongly resembling Samuel Johnson".

Like the earlier English essayists, Carlyle wrote some pamphlets on various issues and his pamphleteering is seen at its best in "Past and Present" (1843) and "Latter-Day Pamphlets (1850)". He wrote the first in seven weeks and intended it to be a call for heroic leadership to solve the problems of the unemployed and the consequences of the Industrial Revolution.

There is a common feature shared by the Victorian writers. Most of them write as if they are addressing a public meeting in an authoritative manner. They were pompous but not necessarily artificial, pursuing elegance and elaboration of style.

Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800-1859) is one of the most famous Victorians who shares with his contemporaries this feature, though he is more readable. He writes, says G.M. Young "as if his purpose was less to convince than to silence his readers: not to win their agreement but to force their assent".

Like Carlyle, Macaulay planned to reach the widest possible audience, and he did in fact achieve success in this, particularly in his Essays and History of England 1848 which sold 13,000

copies in three months. His essays on literary and historical figures were also popular and widely read. The picture which most readers have of him is derived chiefly from the Essays and the History. However, one has to admit that the picture of Macaulay has been radically changed by the six volumes of his letters published by Cambridge between 1974 and 1981, and the selection of them published by Thomas Pinney in 1983. As we have seen before, the essay as a literary form in its early stages took the form of the letter, hence most of the great writers' letters were in fact essays.

Macaulay wrote everything for a purpose and he was proud of his ability to live by his pen "writing every day". Nevertheless, he did not regard himself as a journalist:

> I had a short walk with Thackeray yesterday (8 June 1859) and found that the literary world is in quite as unsatisfactory a state as the political worlds (sic). Nothing but jealousies, enmities, libel, detraction, knavery, ingratitude. Thank God, I have always, even when I was writing for bread, kept quite aloof from the whole race of hackney scribblers. I could hardly believe - even now I can hardly believe - some of Thackeray's anecdotes.(25)

Macaulay's relation with the press went back to 1823, when he published his first essays in the Knight's Quarterly Review, a new venture that did not last long, after which he turned to The Edinburgh

Review and made his fame by his famous essay on Milton which appeared in 1825. His contributions to the Edinburgh secured a large public and, at the same time paved his way into politics, where he took office as Secretary for War. Regardless of his involvement in politics, Macaulay remained, in his heart, a man devoted to letters.

To The Edinburgh, Macaulay contributed a series of articles collected in America as Critical and Miscellaneous Essays which achieved success promptly. This success, probably, was due to Macaulay's style in combining literature, biography and history with ease and in fluent language, and his opinions were set forth with perfect clarity in pure English.

Although Matthew Arnold (1822-1888) is best taken as a poet and critic, his essays have a place in the history of the literary form. Arnold's influence derives from his studies of contemporary culture and the relationship between literature and the industrial civilization. His great impact continues to the present day, and among those who were highly impressed by and intellectually involved with his conception of culture, was Dr. F.R. Leavis as we have indicated before. In this respect, his Essays in Criticism (1865-1888) furnishes a good example. His essays, though right in the centre of public interests, retained all the brilliance of fine conversation.

In his early literary career, Arnold abandoned

poetry for prose and soon secured a wider public. In his prose he repeats himself as a good lecturer in order to familiarize his listeners with his phrases and to be clear and emphatic. In Culture and Anarchy, he says:

> The pursuit of perfection, then, is the pursuit of sweetness and light. He who works for sweetness and light works to make reason and the will of God prevail. He who works for machinery, he who works for hatred, works only for confusion. Culture looks beyond machinery, culture hates hatred; culture has one great passion, the passion for sweetness and light. It has one even yet greater! - the passion for making them "prevail". It is not satisfied till we "all" come to a perfect man, it knows that the sweetness and light of the few must be imperfect until the raw and unkindled masses of humanity are touched with sweetness and light. If I have not shrunk from saying that we must work for sweetness and light, so neither have I shrunk from saying that we must have a broad basis, must have sweetness and light for as many as possible.

Here Arnold repeats not only words but the structure of his sentences also, with weight and dignity.

His Modern Elements in Literature was published in Macmillan's Magazine, 1869, the year of "Culture and Anarchy's" publication. Nevertheless, Arnold's most important critical works are the two volumes of his essays. The first starts with a discussion of the relevance of criticism both to creative literature and to society and civilization. This argument, embodied in "The Function of Criticism at the Present Time", has greatly influenced 20th

century critics, especially T.S. Eliot and F.R. Leavis. The second volume starts with "The Study of Poetry" in which Arnold argues that a poet should inspire the modern world as the great prophets did in the past. This issue has been later modified and explained by I.A. Richards in his famous authoritative study The Principles of Literary Criticism, 1924. Arnold wants the poet to be a serious thinker who could offer guidance for his readers. And he regarded literature as a potent force in producing a civilized society.(26) This issue not only engaged Arnold as a critic but also as a serious educationalist who was keen to build up the English society on a firm basis of knowledge and education:

> As our nation grows more civilized, as a real love of reading comes to prevail more widely, the system which keeps up the present exorbitant price of new books in England, the system of lending libraries from which books are hired, will be seen to be, as it is, eccentric, artificial and unsatisfactory in the highest degree. It is a machinery for the multiplication and protection of bad literature, and for keeping good books dear.(27)

This shows his concern for the access to good education which he regards as the crucial need for modern man. As for criticism, for Arnold, it meant more than the casual book-reviewing or mere censoriousness. Good criticism, he argues is useful and even creative writers can profit from it

in a special way.

Arnold must be discussed elsewhere, either as brilliant critic or an important poet. He can also be studied as an essayist, but as a journalist, there is little worth noticing though he contributed to some periodicals. Arnold's main aim was not to associate himself firmly with high culture, criticism, poetry and education. Therefore, his great influence went straight to the academies and literary circles, but not through the columns of the press. Arnold stuck hard to his main interests in a time when the essay in the tradition of Steele, Addison, Lamb and Hazlitt dissolved into the morass of constantly increasing journalism.

Towards the end of the 19th century Robert Louis Stevenson (1850-1894) sprang to prominence in the press backed by a remarkable talent and fine taste, by which he managed to recapture much of the early nature of the familiar essay. In his early life he had made up his mind to be a writer and while at the University of Edinburgh he contributed some essays to the university magazine. He continued writing essays with grace and vigour throughout his active life, dealing with different issues, printing his contributions in various London magazines. But prior to that he had written some fantastic stories like The New Arabian Nights (1882), using great compression in plot, characterisation and dialogue. He, in this respect, did much to pave the way to the modern short story. In addition to his essays

and travel writings, Stevenson made his name as a writer of fiction by the publication of Treasure Island in 1883.

R.L. Stevenson is the last pillar of the Victorian essayists who closed the century resting apparently securely on a huge tradition of this literary form which dominated nearly three centuries of personal writing in the tradition of Montaigne. It is worth noting that both the Romantic essayists and the Victorians were individualists, each presenting his personality in his own style. And the essay as a literary form was used by journalists, reviewers, writers to express different personal points of view. The grand style of Lamb, Hazlitt, De Quincey and Macaulay, was taken over by the writers of newspaper articles, comments, leaders and columns. On the one hand, weightier matters have been covered by the kind of essay which takes the form and size of a book. On the other hand, the 20th century writer began to provide light essays, journalistic in character, that could be read at the breakfast table or on the morning train up to town. The main function of such light essays is to entertain rather than to instruct. At the beginning of this century, there was a period of decline for the essay, partly because of the disappearance of periodicals and the emergence of daily papers which offered the essay little room.

However, the essay has been used to cover serious, social and cultural comments by D.H. Lawrence, George Orwell, Aldous Huxley, Virginia Woolf and F.R. Leavis. It must be remembered also that Max Beerbohm produced an outstanding volume of essays: And Even Now, 1920, and that G.K. Chesterton and Hilaire Belloc were brilliantly readable essayists. All these writers, some of them journalists, showed a wide range of subject, style and knowledge. During the 20th century, the essay has been reborn, but under new names such as Leader, feature article, editorial comment or even the column. The serious type of the essay genre went straight into the hands of academics who produced, from time to time, academic essays in journals and sometimes collected in books.

Style

Buffon, a French writer of the 18th century said: "Le style c'est l'homme meme" (style is the man himself). This famous definition is more accurately relevant to the style of the essay since it is the most personal of all prose forms. The words "Addisonian", "Johnsonese" and "Carlylese", may stand as striking evidence of the personal element in essay-writing. It is evident that this genre had already established its distinct prose form with its own personality, long before the personal Romantic form of poetry. And as we have seen before, those

writers who practised the essay tended to develop their own style, hence they were called individualist to highlight their personal achievement.

Because the aim of the essayists is usually to entertain and instruct, and this is the function of serious journalism we find them continually speaking of language development and improvement or discussing the problems of style.

Due to this tendency, it would be difficult to understand the achievements of the early English essayists without putting our fingers on the main elements of their styles. In their process of polishing the language and writing clear and grand English, they did a great deal to enrich the style of the periodicals or papers to which they contributed. Their aim was to vitalize the various ventures of the press giving them a new transfusion of warm and healthy blood. This arose from an awareness of the significant role that the press can play to build up a well-sustained society and maintain the literary and cultural tradition of the nation.

They were aware of the danger of journalism if conducted without sincerity, or as Alan Warner put it here:

> The journalist earns his living by his pen. He has to write a great deal and he has to write quickly. He wants his articles and reports to be as readable and interesting as he can make them. It is an excellent thing to aim at being readable and

> interesting, and I wish all writers of books would keep this aim in sight, but the journalist is often tempted to be merely popular and showy. Hence the journalists still write clean and vigorous English. The term 'journalese' is used in a derogatory sense to suggest a bad style.(28)

Warner here is indicating a common phenomenon in the popular press in particular, arising from the need that some journalists feel to write up a story or to dramatize it in order to make it more exciting. He is revealing one side of the issue, that is a vice of the press. But it should be borne in mind that some of the best English today is written by journalists. The quality papers today contain articles and reports in vigorous and striking style. This process has been continuing since Defoe, as far as serious periodicals are concerned. The earlier English essayists who were journalists as well, were fully aware of the importance of language as a medium of expressing their thoughts. Their function as journalists was to reach the widest possible audience through clear and correct language. Accordingly the comments of the magazines on language were directed against abuses of good taste and usage. Hazlitt's essay "On Familiar Style" marks the great care that earlier English essayists paid to style and language as an embodiment of thought:

> It is not easy to write a familiar style. Many people mistake a familiar

> for a vulgar style, and suppose that to write without affectation is to write at random. On the contrary, there is nothing that requires more precision, and, if I may so say, purity of expression, than the style I am speaking of. It utterly rejects not only all unmeaning pomp, but all low, cant phrases, and loose, unconnected, 'slipshod' allusions. It is not to take the first word that offers, but the best word in common use; it is not to throw words together in any combinations we please, but to follow and avail ourselves of the true idiom of the language. To write a genuine familiar or truely English style, is to write as any one would speak in common conversation who had a thorough command and choice of words, or who could discourse with ease, force, and perspicuity, setting aside all pedantic and oratorical flourishes.(29)

We believe that this essay should be printed separately and distributed to teachers of language and literature and printed in the front pages of style books used by the quality papers.

The outstanding stylists in English have often emphasised that an idiomatic style is preferable to a dry pedantic or bare style. They emphasise that idioms should not be used for their own sake, but only where they add force and vividness to one's thoughts.

There are always certain influences that will exert their pressure on writers' style. One is his own personality, his own way of thinking, that determines his mode of expression. The other is the occasion on which he is writing, as well as the impact of the age in which he lives, because every age has its own trends and phenomena.

There are as many variants of style as there are men of originality who know the art of writing. And even the outstanding papers, like The Washington Post, The Times and The Guardian, have adopted a style book of their own to be used as a guide in sub-editing. This process had been practised before by the major journalist essayists mentioned above who developed their personal style based on their own taste, knowledge of language, choice of words and the nature of the thought they meant to express. In doing this they set a genuine model of the serious journalist who practised the art with power and responsibility. It is said that Benjamin Franklin as a boy taught himself to write by imitating The Spectator.

But we should not expect one major approved style to shelter the great variety of papers. On the contrary, we find one newspaper addressing itself to top people, while another aims at the man in the street or the man in the back-streets of Wigan. Therefore, the style of a daily newspaper must necessarily differ from that of serious academic periodical or a book.

As far as journalism is concerned, clear and simple words of common correct usage are always better than those of erudition. However, there were writers interested in common speech, though they were not associated closely with the press.

The increasing colloquialism of modern writing has been encouraged by the influence of radio and

television. These media tend naturally to carry writing closer to ordinary speech and adopt a more informal tone. Shorter sentences and colloquial expressions are sought by most of those who give talks or conduct interviews in radio and TV. This abrupt change of gear in style marks a significant development in attitudes towards the literary tradition. Modern grammarians played a role in this shift by their unwillingness to speak of correct and incorrect English. This in turn led to the common speech of the present day which admits slang and shows little concern with precision and correctness. This trend began in America but it has spread to England.

J. Middleton Murry in his lectures delivered in the School of English Literature at Oxford throws more light on this point:

> .... Language itself, as the medium of communications between the members of a huge society of people constantly tends like money we pass from hand to hand to become defaced and smooth. And this process is vastly accelerated by the growth of newspapers. The people who write newspapers, if they have the will, have not the time to keep their language in trim and precise; if they had, moreover, and used it for this purpose they would quickly lose their positions. Their Business is to address the average mind and to do this they must use the vocabulary of the average mind: if they do not, they will be paid the compliment of being declared unreadable, which, when it comes to the ears of their proprietor, will be a sentence of death upon themselves.(30)

What Murry tries to illustrate here is of significant bearing in shaping our thinking and subsequently our style. It is obvious that our experience of life is also shaped by the books, magazines and papers we read. Major writers in every age help to shape the thinking and feeling as well as the style of their audience. This is the major aim of every sort of serious writing. But what is more prominent is that journalism, while increasing enormously the number of readers, tends strongly to accelerate the evolution of literary forms. The familiar essay, for example, had undergone a process of modification and refined its shape in the forms of feature article, column and review.

The feature article is a kind of essay expressing background information on events, people, artistic activities and cultural trends and topics, usually written by a named author. Newspapers and magazines usually devote a suitable space for feature articles to accommodate facts, conclusions and opinions. There are writers of news features who write in haste to keep up with the flow of events, but such writings are usually ephemeral.

There are different kinds of feature articles, but we are concerned here with the article-review. Those articles discussing other public interests have little to do with literary journalism.

On the other hand, the column has a place in any serious discussion of the periodical essay. This

significance arises from the growing development in modern journalism particularly in America. The word "column" is an American coinage developed in the late 19th century although this sort of sharp writing existed much earlier. In the first half of this century, the column emerged as a very adaptable form capable of accommodating diverse comments on different aspects of life, whether humorous or serious. It reflects the writer's individual views by clear personal touches revealing its relation to its allied forms, the essay and the leading article which form the hallmarks of personal journalism.

In the 1920s, the political column began with the writings of David Lawrence, Mark Sullivan and Frank R. Kent. Walter Lippmann joined them as a Herald Tribune columnist. These writers were editorial columnists with signed articles that appeared at regular intervals, or radio commentators who gave their opinions on major network news programs.(31) They wrote in a sober style and with a serious-minded approach.

Nevertheless, it is in the second half of this century that the column has become more defined and distinct in the work of the famous American columnists like Jack Anderson, James Reston, and David Broder of the Washington Post. Not only is it widespread in newspapers and magazines, but it has become widely used in radio and TV programmes as a suitable medium for expressing comments. In post-war years in Britain

Sir William Connor "Cassandra" of the Daily Mirror was one of the most brilliant columnists. He had a rich vocabulary and was famous for his sharpness and vigorous use of words.

The column, indeed, needs high skills and a mastery of figurative language backed up by fine taste and a biting tongue.

We are concerned here with the column as a literary form used either in reviewing or handling criticial judgments conducted mainly by writers, critics and reviewers. In a later chapter, dealing with the types of reviewing, we shall discuss the column and the review in more detail.

CHAPTER THREE

LITERARY JOURNALISM IN EGYPT

- Napoleon's campaign
- British influence
- Arab literary revival
- Writers and the press
- Leading literary magazines and newspapers

"We were reading William Hazlitt, the greatest English critic, according him higher position and superiority over the famous world critic".

Al-ʿAqqād (Introduction to Māzini's Sabīl Hayāt, p.6)

At the time when Lamb, Hazlitt and their contemporary Romanticists, became outmoded in their country, there was a growing interest overseas in their achievements. This was not entirely a one sided interest, Shelley, Keats and Leigh Hunt competed in composing poems on the Nile. Leigh Hunt, a brilliant essayist as well as a poet wrote a fanciful poem in which he said:

> It flows through old hush'd Egypt and its sands, Like some grave, mighty thought, threading a dream; And times, and things, as in the vision seen, Keeping along it their eternal strands. Caves, pillars, pyramids, the shepherd bands That roamed through the young earth-the flag extreme Of high Sesostris, and that southern beam, The laughing Queen, that caught the world's great hands.(1)

The British interest in Egypt and its pharaoic heritage was the result of Napoleon's campaign in 1798-1801 which helped the Egyptians to open their minds to Western liberal ideals. This tendency towards Westernization led to a literary renaissance of which literary journalism, in question, was one aspect. Our aim here is to throw light on the background and development of press literature in Egypt during the

period from 1882 to 1952. This period of literary renaissance in Egypt and the Arab East as well, cannot be adequately studied apart from the French and later the English impact on the 19th century Egypt. It would be then possible for our study to trace back the influence of English literature, particularly the writings of Bacon, Addison, Steele, Samuel Johnson, Lamb(2) and their contemporary essayists.

The French Campaign 1798-1801

Napoleon brought to Egypt an army accompanied by scholars, scientists and printing presses. These latter offered the Egyptians their first experience of printed journals in the form of Courier de L'Egypt 1798 and a scientific literary magazine, La Decade Egyptienne which appeared in the same year.(3) Napoleon's scholars produced "Description de L'Egypte, a fascinating book which had inspired the British more than other interested Europeans, partly because of their strategic aim to secure the gateway to India. The French also established the Egyptian Academy and annexed a library to it.

However, the French occupation ended in 1801 with the help of the British who wanted to dislodge the French and their influence from Egypt and it was possible for Muhammad Ali to seize power in 1805.

The French influence, in fact, was far stronger

than the British had expected, because the French left behind them laboratories, libraries, schools, hospitals, printing presses and, most important, a great desire among Egyptians for Westernization which entailed a breakaway from Ottoman rule.

Muhammad Ali (ruled 1805-1849)

The Western inspiration was represented at its best by Muhammad Ali who showed great skill and ambition in modernizing Egypt and setting up a semi-independent country from the Turkish Empire which was suffering weakness and was eventually dismembered. This power vacuum stood to benefit both France and Britain.

Muhammad Ali was not a great patron of literature, but his efforts to build a strong navy and modern army demanded spreading of education on a European model. Thus he sent student missions to France, Italy and Britain, and established the Arabic Bulaq press. He encouraged translations particularly of technology, from European languages and founded the "School of Languages" in 1835 with a translation office attached to it, particularly significant was his policy of sending missions to Europe to convey to Egypt Western methods and sciences in order to build a modernized Egyptian army.

The students despatched had their eyes opened to liberal societies, higher technology, literature and the arts. When they came back to Egypt, they

did their best to stimulate the desire, already aroused, for a revival from the age of decadence under Turkish rule.

Most prominent in this respect was R.R. al- Ṭahṭāwī (1801-1873) who accompanied a student mission to France as a preacher (imam) but who wasted no opportunity to study French literature and the arts. He wrote a book on Paris, of great significance for the study of that period.(4)

When Ṭahṭāwī returned to Egypt, he was appointed head of the School of Languages and launched a very active campaign of translations. He and his students translated more than 2000 books into Arabic.(5)

More closely related to our study is Tahtawi's policy in editing al- Waqa'iᶜ al- Miṣriya (Egyptian Events) which was founded in 1828 marking the first significant venture in Arabic journalism. This paper was an official organ but Ṭahṭāwi developed it into a modern thrice-weekly paper printing articles, translations, literary discussions as well as the official news.

Ṭahṭāwī in fact, was the first enlightened literary journalist and writer who established fruitful contact with Western thought setting the model for the coming Egyptian prose writers and journalists. He managed to some extent to adopt a flexible style attuned to the spirit of his time, but the forces of tradition seemed still stronger than his innovatory zeal. He could not, for example, avoid using rhymed endings

to sentences, ornate style, or other rhetorical devices. He even chose a rhyming jingle for the title of his book which embodied his experience in Paris: Takhlīṣ al-Ibrīz fī talkhīṣ bāriz (The Refinement of Gold in the Resume of Paris).

An ornate, artificial, and affected style was a persistent characteristic of the age of decadence or period of torpor during which the Arabic language and its literature deteriorated. However, one has to admit that despite the poor state of language in his time, Ṭahṭāwī managed to steer a middle course towards a simpler style which could express the modern developments of the age. By this emphasis on clarity and polished prose, he paved the way for such writers as Muhammad ʿAbduh (1849-1905) who took over editing al Waqaʾiʿ al- Miṣriyya and co-editing al-ʿUrwa al- Wuthqā (The Firmest Handle) with al-Afghānī.

ʿAbduh was another enlightened religious leader and a patron of modernization who did his best to enhance the level of literary journalism.

The British Influence

The seeds of Western culture began to bear fruit in the era of Khedive Ismāil (1863-1879) who went much farther than his predecessors in connecting Egypt with the West, declaring that it was part of Europe. He opened Dār-al-Kutub (The National Library) in 1870 and the Opera House and encouraged

British investment.

His extravagance led to a dramatic increase in Egypt's foreign debts particularly to Britain which was eager to tighten its grip of Egypt. These developments drew the attention of British orientalists and scholars who showed great interest in the Arab East, the cradle of the Bible and Greek and Roman antiquities.

Towards the middle of the 19th century, Egypt became a familiar place to British travellers who wrote many fascinating travel books which consequently aroused a great interest in the land of the pyramids. According to Sarah Searight, a Literary Association was founded in Cairo by Henry Abbot to provide a meeting ground for travellers and scholars.

W.M. Thackeray, the famous English writer toured Egypt in 1844 and wrote: From Cornhill to Cairo.(6)

The riches of Arabic poetry and the Arabian Nights evoked a strong delight in the Victorians of which Tennyson's "Locksley Hall" furnishes an example. Both this poem and the oldest Ode of Imru al-Qais open with a lover standing before the deserted dwelling of his faithful mistress. William Jones's prose translation opens:

> "Stay let us weep at the remembrance of our beloved, at the sight of the station where her tent was raised, by the edge of yon bending stands between Dahul and Haumel."

Tennyson begins:

> Comrades leave me here a little, while
> as yet 'tis early morn;
> Leave me here, and when you want me,
> blow upon the bugle horn.(7)

The growing influence of the British showed itself in different ways and it is said that in Alexandria alone there were about six thousand Britons in the last third of the nineteenth century.

The role of the British orientalists in Egypt is of considerable significance in the sphere of comparative literature and in spreading Western methods of scientific research. Some of them lived in Egypt for a long time gathering material for their books or teaching at the Egyptian university in Cairo which eagerly invited foreign professors and orientalists to deliver lectures.

Among the most famous English Arabists was Edward William Lane (1801-1876) who spent his youth in Egypt and wrote a brilliant book describing the customs and manners of Egyptian society. This book was first published in serial form in al- Risāla Magazine. But Lane's remarkable achievement lies in his world famous Arabic-English Dictionary and his translation of The Arabian Nights.

D.S. Margolioth (1858-1940), who held the Laudian Chair of Arabic at Oxford, lectured at Cairo

University and caused furore in traditional literary criticism, when Ṭaha Hussain adopted his ideas on pre-Islamic poetry.

Rynold Nicholson (1868-1945) had tremendous knowledge of Arabic language and literature. The most famous book written by him was A Literary History of the Arabs 1907.

Mention is due as well to Hamilton Gibb (1895-1971) with his notable book Arabic Literature. These were particularly useful in the area of scholarship in Arabic literature.

The importance of these British and other Europeans lies in their methods of researching and their attitudes towards literature. They came to Egypt with a strong background in new European trends of criticism, literature and the rise of the press in their countries. One can imagine that they brought with them their own collections of books and periodicals. Later English papers and magazines were sold at Egyptian railway stations according to al-Aqqad. In addition, the campaign of translation in the second half of the 19th century demanded foreign books and magazines to supply the needs of educated people who opened their eyes to Western thought.

The use of English as an official language also required such material to be used in the training of officials and in schools. The British, in fact, were very keen to dislodge the

impact of French culture which was deep rooted. In this way, British influence was growing from the 1870s onward at a period when the Turks, rulers of Egypt were themselves under British sway. When ʿArābī Uprising took place in 1881, it was crushed harshly by the British who utilized the opportunity and brought Egypt under their direct occupation in 1882.

From this time onward, the English language was imposed at all levels and all subjects except Arabic itself were taught in it. Pro-British papers began to appear publishing English authors and literature together with other topics. Consequently English schools were set up and the famous Victoria College in Cairo was founded towards the end of the 19th century. By the year 1894 every ministry had a British adviser with tremendous responsibilities.

It is natural for a foreign occupation like this to create a generation of educated people speaking English and adopting English ideals. A knowledge of English, in its turn, could lead to a knowledge of its influence. Many Egyptians studied English either to get jobs as translators, or because of the growing interest in English culture. But this tendency was counterbalanced by a feeling of bitter resentment by Egyptians against the British occupation and its oppressive policy.

There were violent demonstrations and a popular uprising underway, but the policy-makers in England

were clever enough this time to accede to the Egyptian aspirations. So at the turn of the 20th century we see many political parties set up vying to express the national identity of Egypt. Every party had its paper or magazine, and the men of letters pushed their way into these parties and their press, a situation which reminds us of the political life of 18th century England.

Until the beginning of this century, literary journalism remained captive to the tradition of the age of decadence with its ornate and affected style. The essay was marked with far-fetched artificiality as if written in the form of " maqama" the medieval literary form with extensive use of rich vocabulary and figures of speech. Writers were using rhymed sentences and pompous, hollow phrases nearer to the colloquial than the standard Arabic. All the traditions used in the age of torpor were maintained to the best of the hacks' abilities. Against this depressing condition there were enlightened writers in the last two decades of the 19th century and the turn of the century who set themselves to sustain the standards of language and accommodate the needs and discoveries of the time. They tried hard to develop a new style based on using standard literary Arabic combined with clarity and simplicity and avoiding the excessive use of rhetorical devices such as the pun, parallelism, and rhymed phrases which naturally

bear little meaning.

Names like ʿAbdullāh al-Nadīm, ʿAli Yousūf, Adīb Isḥaq, Ibrāhīm al-Muwailiḥi, and Muhammad ʿAbduh represent this movement. Some of them were Lebanese migrants who moved with their magazines to Egypt to escape Turkish oppression in Syria and Lebanon and secure an increase in their audience. The Syro-Lebanese journalists, in fact, injected Egyptian literary journalism with new blood, because of their knowledge and their familiarity with Western thought:

> Hamza, with objective fairness, established the link between the aspiring Egyptian reformers and journalists and the enlightened journalism of the Syro-Lebanese writers, and acknowledged the indebtedness of the former to the latter. He recognized that this encounter of Syrian and Egyptian minds was a great factor in the general revival of Egypt.(8)

In the spreading of English Romanticism and literature, it was Egyptian journalists who played the major role due to their knowledge of English works which they had launched before the arrival of the Syro-Lebanese writers who mainly were speaking French.

However, this collaboration led eventually to the creation of a new school of journalism which came to be known as "Essay-journalism". This school was the product of the journalist men of letters who associated themselves closely with the press.

Later in this study we shall see how this type of journalism did much to refine the modern Arabic language and the modern essay form in Egypt. First we must consider literary journalism in Egypt in the light of its attitudes towards European literature, and the English essay in particular. This line of study is aided by Dr. Muhammad Yousif Najm's efforts to classify the stages of development through which Egyptian literary periodicals passed.(9)

Stages of Egyptian Literary Journalism

Dr. Najm thinks that the literary press in Egypt underwent four stages. These stages are:

1. The First Stage:

The First School of Journalism: represented by editors and journalists of the official papers published by the government. This stage ends at the outbreak of ʿArābī in 1881. The most famous literary journalists at this stage were: Tahtawi, Abdullah Abu al-Suʿoud, Michael Abdul Sayyid, Muhammad Ensi, and Salīm Anhūrī.

2. The Second Stage:

The school of al-Afghānī:

This stage ends with the Arabi Uprising in 1881. During this period the press was greatly influenced by the movement of Afghānī (1838-1898), and some of the Syrian writers. This school tried to avoid using excessive figures of speech.

Among the leading writers of this school were: ʾAdīb Isaac, Abdullah Nadīm, al-Muwailiḥi, ʿAbduh and al-Kawākibī.

3. The Third Stage:

Pioneers of the modern press.

This school of the literary press in Egypt had flourised under the British occupation, and the establishment of political parties. Writers at this stage attempted to politicize literature. Major writers of this school were: Ali Yousif, Muṣṭafa Kāmil, Abdul ʿAzīz Jāwīsh, Maṭrān and Luṭfi al-Sayyid.

4. The Fourth Stage:

The Modern School of Journalism:

Starts from the First World War onward, during which there were many outstanding literary journalists among whom were ʿAqqād, al-Māzinī, and Salāma Mūsa, the subjects of our detailed study below.

Dr. Najm believes that this classification is more relevant to the development of the essay in Egypt and the Arab world, but a close look at the matter shows that his method is far from comprehensive, bearing in mind that there are papers and magazines which have been coming out continuously since the last century.

Al-Ahrām (The Pyramids), which was founded in 1876, and al-Hilāl (The Crescent), 1892 are examples. Besides, there were writers for a period beyond the span of time he set within one stage. The reason behind this seems to be his attempt to study Egyptian

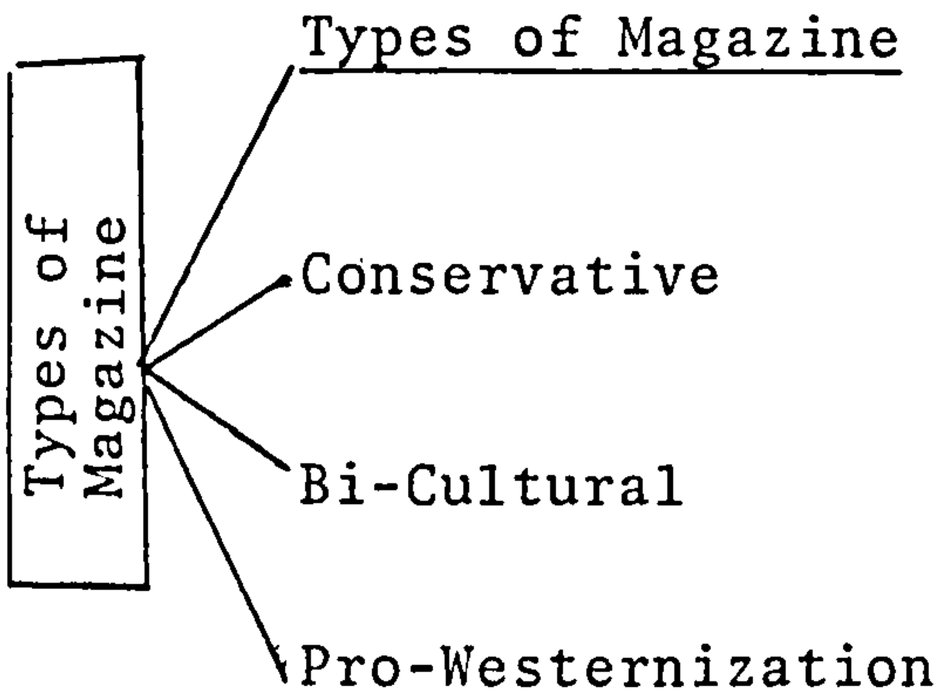
literary journalism together with the essay, within relatively short-lived schools. Further, Egyptian literary journalism, like English journalism at its formative period, was part of Arabic literature.

The association of writers in Egypt was even closer than that in England for most of the writers we mentioned were originally journalists. The Arab publishers were influenced by contemporary French papers which were heavily cultural in content. Consequently, many of the earliest Arab newspapers in the 19th century resembled the political-literary journals of Europe being published at that time. In this way the Egyptian writers and poets found outlets in the press. Hence the individuality of the journalist men of letters arises from their individual awareness of the new trends in literature and journalism. The revival of Arabic prose after the spread of translations and the departure from traditional ornate writings did much, in fact, to formulate a new journalistic style. In the following pages we shall see the impact of literary magazines and papers on prose and press language. The major role in this process was played by the magazines which published European works and English literature in particular.

The literary magazines through which the essay flourished and acquired an established identity are best considered within types of magazine rather than historical stages. By adopting this method we can

avoid being confined to a limited historical period, and this approach also emphasizes the role of individuality which is the striking characteristic of the essay not only in Egypt but in England as well.

The types of magazines we suggest to categorize Egyptian literary magazines in relation to the essay are:



1. The conservative magazines set themselves to publish the literary heritage and defend the tradition in which they saw their ideals embodied. These magazines began publishing studies and articles maintaining the Arabic literary tradition using new methods. They were opposed to the growth of hack translations and the spread of immorality which they believed was stimulated by printing obscene or worthless novels translated roughly from European languages. The Azhar played a major role in nourishing these magazines to combat vices either imported or inherited from the age of decadence.

2. Bi-Cultural Magazines

These literary ventures tried hard to revitalize the literary tradition by introducing their readers to useful and meaningful translations mainly from French and English literature. Short stories, poems, criticism from European literature were published together with studies in Arabic literature and tradition. This type did not oppose modernization in literary style and way of thinking, but maintained the standards of classical Arabic. Magazines of this kind were the most influential in the literary history of Egypt and their writers and editors were fully aware of the changes of their time while readily acknowledging the importance of Arabic literature.

3. Pro-Westernization Magazines

These magazines drew their ideals from the West alone, and were sceptical of the importance of Arabic literary tradition and even Arabic civilization. Writers in these periodicals attacked Islamic values, the Azhar and the Arabic language itself. Because of this cultural deracination and other literary weaknesses, they did not survive.

To throw more light on these literary magazines and newspapers demands a brief survey of the leading ones especially those publishing English authors. This will enable us to comment logically and depict the background to the development of the essay and review in Arabic journalism.

In 1870 Rawdhat al-Madāris (Schools' Meadow), was launched by Ali Yousif and Ṭahṭāwī and was distributed free in schools. This magazine was the first periodical which encouraged, to a large extent, translating European writings and tried to steer a middle course between maintaining the Arabic tradition and introducing Western authors and ideas. When ʿAbduh took over the editorship of al-Waqaʾiʿ (Events), he did his best to polish its journalistic prose and depart from the former traditon of using ornate and artificial language. From 1875 al-Waqaʾiʿ started printing a variety of subjects including translations and polemic literature as well as essays on the new interpretation of Islam. He wrote several articles in al-Ahrām newspaper which was founded in 1876 and secured the contributions of the most outstanding writers and journalists of the day.

It is worth mentioning here that Abduh who was a religious scholar showed great aspirations for the future and a persistent advocacy of modernization. He was a most enlightened religious leader and writer who greatly influenced his disciples.

Al-Muqtaṭaf

This leading monthly was launched in Beirut in 1878 and then moved to Cairo in 1881 where its editors Yaʿqūb Ṣarrūf and Fāris Nimr settled for the rest of their lives. The establishment of scientific and academic style, is to a large extent, attributed to al-Muqtaṭaf (Snippets). Ṣarrūf was a remarkable

scientist and man of letters who did much to polish the style of journalism and the craft of the essay.

In its early stages, al-Muqtaṭaf was largely a scientific periodical, but soon it was opened to literature, social sciences and criticism.

May Ziādah (1886-1941), the famous Syro-Egyptian writer and journalist started a monthly feature section in it devoted to introducing a European writer. Studies on European philosophy, aesthetics, and culture were so highly academic and authoritative in al-Muqtaṭaf that it created a trend of aesthetic and literary analysis adopted by the leading writers and scholars of that time. Because of the scope and aim of this work we have not space to give full credit to its achievements. However, we shall touch on its co-editor Sarruf in the following chapter regarding his role in the rise of the modern essay.

Al-Muqaṭṭam

In 1889 al-Muqaṭṭam (Fragments) appeared under the editorship of Yaʿqūb Ṣarrūf, Fāris Nimr and Shāhīn Maccārius marked by a pro-British policy, defending the occupation.

Its editors openly stated their intention to assist British policy in the Middle East.(10) However, it managed to secure contributions from some outstanding writers.

Al-Muʾayyad

In opposition to al-Muqaṭṭam, Ali Yousif, a prominent writer and journalist founded al-Muʾayyad

(Supported) in 1889 to be the mouthpiece of Egypt and embody the national spirit. Soon, leading poets, critics, and writers found their way into its pages. Among its writers were ʿAbduh, Zaghlūl, Qāsim Amīn, al-Muwailiḥī, al-Manfalūṭī and other leading literary figures.

Al-Hilal

This has been the greatest enterprise of Egyptian literary journalism. Al-Hilāl (Crescent), was established by Georgy Zaidān in 1892 and still appears monthly with a strong literary bias. In its earlier stages it was the most influential monthly because of the weight and authority of its writers. But in the last twenty years it started printing entertainment and snippets of information. It has established a tradition of devoting a complete issue to one author or poet commemorating his anniversary. It was also famous for a section in each issue devoted to reviewing European magazines offering a reasonable summary of the major topics dealt with by them.

At the turn of the 20th century, literary journalism in Egypt enjoyed a flux of heated debate on modernization. The political life, in its turn, stimulated literature and journalism to deal with new topics and different aspects of life. The professionalization of literature and journalism became more firmly established.

From 1906 onwards the press saw a new stage in which further influential papers and magazines

were launched. After al-Liwā' (The Flag), which appeared in 1900, Luṭfi al-Sayyid founded al-Jarīda (The Newspaper) in which the patriotic group of writers found a forum. Al-Sayyid himself was a philosopher and a translator of Aristotle. He opened up his paper to publish essays and studies dealing with English, French and German literary movements, heating up the discussion of modernization and adopting much Western thought. Among its writers were al-ʿAqqād, al-Māzinī, Ṭāha Hussain, Salāma Mūsa, and Haikal.

The year 1911 saw the launching of the most influential magazine al-Bayān (Clear Meaning) which appeared under the patronage of al-Barqūqī who opened its pages to European culture and English literature in particular. It reflected the new spirit of revival which required the fusion of European and Arabic culture. It is worth noting that al-Bayān was written for the same influential elite who contributed to it.

Writers like Shukrī, ʿAqqād, Māzinī, Ṭāha Hussain, al-Rafiʿī and Haikal enriched its standard by their translations and their distinguished writings. It published a serialized translation of Thomas Carlyle's book: On Heroes and Hero Worship.

ʿAqqād translated part of David Hume's works and essays and letters by Mark Twain. Mazini translated some of Rousseau's works. Francis Bacon, Hazlitt, Samuel Johnson, and Emerson were also introduced to

the Arab readers with examples of their essays.

Genuine criticism also pushed its way onto its pages arousing sharp retorts and refutations. Al-Bayān, in fact, stirred up what came to be known later as the "literary battles" which were fought among the leading literary figures from both sides; the traditionalists and the modernists.

In al-Bayān the School of al-Diwān Group or what was called "The English School" emerged with considerable impact on the general literary scene. We shall touch on this group of writers later. Its tendency towards translation and Arabization did much to nurture the Western trends in modern Arabic literature. In addition, al-Bayān laid stress on literary style and lucid prose.

Regarding the new writers' concern with French and English literature, al-Sufūr magazine (Unveiling) expressed unlimited interest in publishing essays, stories, and criticism translated mainly from English. Among the English works appearing on its pages were essays from Bacon, Hazlitt's Table Talk, some essays by Leigh Hunt and poems from Shelley.

The literary essay enjoyed special sponsorship by its editor Abdul Ḥamīd Ḥamdī.

Muhammad Hussain Haikal in 1922 started al-Siyāsa (Politics), with a policy of adopting the literary tradition and the modern European cultural trend. In 1926 it issued a literary supplement named: al-Siyāsa al-ʾUsbuʿiyya (Weekly Politics) which was

a landmark in the history of literary journalism in the Arab world. By publishing a considerable number of European stories, it helped consolidate the short story and the novel as forms and even promoted interest in writing short stories and novels in the European tradition.

The English essay was offered a solo position in the journal as writers like Aqqad, Mazini, Shukri were among its regular contributors or editors.

An imitation of this literary supplement, al-Balāgh al-ʾUsbūiʿi (The Weekly Communique) appeared in 1926 under the direct editorship of Aqqad. It published some essays by Thomas Addison and other American works.

Al-Balāgh was mainly devoted to publishing English literature and conveying to Egypt the essence of cultural and scientific movements in Europe.

Abdul Qādir Ḥamza the well-known journalist put it this way:

> Al-Balāgh never ceased to convey to Egypt the essence of the scientific, literary, and art movements emerging in the West, presenting to our tradition the output of the remarkable minds and writers of Europe and America. It, indeed, resembles a mirror reflecting modern Western civilization.(11)

Salāma Mūsa launched his magazine al-Majalla al-Jadīda (The New Magazine) in 1929 which was radically pro-Western despising Arab achievements in arts and

literature and advocating pharaonization of Egypt. Mūsa, in the leading article of the first issue said: "We aim at modernization in culture, courting the friendship of the West and acknowledging European civilization".(12)

According to al-Dasūqī, this magazine published articles claiming that all the terms of civilization in Arabic are of Greek or Latin origin and that the Arabs were and still are dependent on Western thought.(13)

A similar attitude towards Arabic culture was taken by al-ʿUsūr (The Ages) founded in 1927, by Ismael Mazhar who wrote in the magazine that the literary and scientific renaissance in Egypt was the result of the literary and scientific magazines which showed the Egyptians their way towards progress.(14)

Within this literary category mention is due to al-Jadīd magazine (The New) which was founded in 1928 by the poet Muhammad Ḥassan al-Marṣafī who sponsored the publishing of English literature but, unlike Mūsa did not attempt to attack Arab culture or Islam.

ʿAqqād, Māzinī, Zayyāt were among its best writers.

The literary essay in Egypt reached its apogee on the pages of the most outstanding magazine in the whole Arab world, al-Risāla (The Message) which appeared in 1933 and was edited by al-Zayyāt, one of the pillars of the Arabic essay.

Any serious study of the essay cannot skate over

Zayyāt and his magazine which was a school of literary journalism on its own. Zayyāt himself was not only a brilliant translator from French, but is recognised as the most remarkable stylist and essayist in modern Arabic literature. In his magazine he introduced Arab readers to the best genre of literature translated in an elaborate, lucid style which played a very significant role in the development of modern Arabic language.

In 1939 Aḥmad Amīn launched his magazine al-Thaqāfa (Culture) to accommodate the flow of translations from French and English as well as dealing with the Arabic literary and philosophical heritage in the light of modernization.

In its first issue Amin wrote:

> The East became closely associated with the West in every aspect of life: in politics, literature, science, and art, in substance and mind and in everything. It is in the interest of the East to observe closely these movements and interpret them into experience, deal with them reasonably, or oppose them wisely after thorough understanding.(15)

Notice should be paid to al-Kātib (The Writer) magazine which was established in 1945 by ʿAdil al-Ghadhbān and did much to accommodate the interest in European and Arabic culture in meaningful interweaving.

Many prominent writers and translators contributed to it so that it very soon achieved wide popularity.

Looking closely at the main characteristics of Egyptian journalism from its beginnings in the 19th century one sees a striking phenomenon in the close association of writers and poets and men of letters with the press from its early formative period.

This phenomenon explains the literary aspect which characterizes the Egyptian press to a very large extent. This rush to the press by literary figures arises from a number of factors among which is the role of journalism in establishing contacts with a larger audience as any serious writer is keen to be read and appreciated by a wider readership. This quotation from al-Zayyāt, might highlight the importance attached to the press:

> Newspapers are mobile schools roaming countries freely without being confined to a particular place. They offer more guidance than the educational institutes by elevating the public's minds and organizing the elite's thoughts. Newspapers stimulate depressed interests, polish language, and connect isolated countries. They are a news record, heart of history and journal of time.(16)

Zayyāt himself established his fame through the columns of journalism rather than his books. Arab readers remember him now for his essays and translations which were published in al-Risāla.

The appearance of literary periodicals in the late 19th century and the beginning of the twentieth

century was as important as the newspapers of our time. They were the most important medium of communication in a society undergoing a period of transition towards modernization. These magazines offered the writers an open forum to express themselves freely and develop their styles and attitudes. It is this forum which did much for the rise of polemical literature which, in turn, formed the background of modern Arabic criticism.

Writers found themselves involved in serious discussions on literature, language, translation, and a variety of other topics. For their part they did their best to establish themselves by maintaining the standards of literary writing, a process which eventually enriched the press by serious contributions. It must be borne in mind that the early journals were reintroducing the old Arab literary tradition in a new way through modern methods of analysis and comprehensive criticism, together with translations from French and English.

This tendency or policy taken by the press led writers to raise the level of their writings by fully understanding and working within the tradition and by keeping in touch with the times and the cultural currents taking place in Europe. It was realized that a literary renaissance cannot bear fruit without both reviving the literary heritage of the past and at the same time absorbing the trends of modernization.

The pioneers of the renaissance were, indeed, very keen to open their minds to Western culture after long years of decline and depression during Turkish rule. Both the literary magazines and their writers faced a very difficult task. They had to abandon the traditional artificial style and adopt instead a modern one based on clarity and simplicity. Writers and literary journalists became well aware that a simpler style could be of merit.

The essay, which we shall deal with later, was handled in a "maqāma" form full of rhymed sentences and farfetched language and journalism at this time was almost essayistic in form, paying very little concern to news stories or reports.

The journalists themselves, bound by tradition, were concerned with their rich vocabulary, pompous ornate style and excessive use of rhetorical devices on the expence of meaning. But as the years moved on, a simpler style was gaining ground accompanied by the interest of addressing a larger readership. The spread of education, in turn, encouraged the organs of the press to adopt a style which could address the majority of the people. The tendency towards simplicity was greatly advanced by the rise of an intensive campaign to translate European works in various topics. Here, the translators were bound by the text and there was no way to use the traditional figures of speech.

Instead, the translators were engaged in searching for new terms and phrases to encompass new ideas and discoveries, and accordingly the Arabic vocabulary was enriched by new words indicating new meanings. The papers carried to their readers translations on scientific matters as well as of literary works and this resulted in a great effect on the Arabic language itself.

This effect is best seen by understanding the sheer extent of the translation movement. John Haywood outlines the speed and range of this development:

> The Arabs' speed in absorbing all these 'isms' has been remarkable. A hundred years ago they were translating and adopting Shakespeare, Racine and Corneille: fifty years ago Bernadin de St. Pierre was a popular idol, and Hugo Chateaubriand and Rostand were in favour. During the last fifteen years, James Joyce has been translated in Morocco and T.S. Eliot, W.B. Yeats, Rimbaud, and Dylan Thomas in the Lebanon.(17)

It is worth noting that these translations and the others reached the readers through magazines and papers before being published in book form in Arabic. Therefore the study of literary journalism in Egypt invites consideration of the role of Westernization.

Al-Muqtaṭaf, al-Hilāl, and al-Bayān, for example, played a significant role in presenting sciences and different aspects of knowledge through a style sufficiently simplified to be understood by everyone.

The language of science and technology was largely improved by these journals which adopted translation as a means of communication with the West and its achievements in science and the arts:

> It is certain that the impact of the press on the literary cultural renaissance in the Arab world was profound. This is due to the fact that the press strove persistently to spread modern ideas and publish useful essays. It helped to make culture an urgent necessity to the people. The newspapers were producing for their readers every day what the universities nowadays offer their students from various fields of knowledge.(18)

However, a fair look on the question of translations appearing in the literary magazines at the start of this century indicates that some of the translations were hasty because of the time limits imposed on translators.

Some translations bore neither the name of the original author nor conveyed the language of the original work.(19) But one cannot generalize too much as there were relatively few examples related to the early period of translation.

Journalism in Egypt became an art between the two World Wars after a period of borrowing and indirect interpretation of Western ideas on literature and life(20) as creative writers and the university teachers became more closely associated with the press.

This steady growth of literary activity which was handled by the literary periodicals and papers revealed itself in different shapes, notably the "battles of criticism", the "slashing style of reviewing", and the "aggressive retorts" which were distinctive and intense.

Of course these literary battles in the columns of the press were inflamed by the spread of English currents of criticism, particularly the Romantic essayists and critics such as Hazlitt, Lamb, De Quincey, Hunt and Macaulay. What came to be known as the "English School" or the "Diwan School" of Egyptian poets and essayists played the major role in waging the literary war between the "traditionalists" and the "modernists". The three leading members of the Diwan who set up the English School were: Abdul Raḥmān Shukrī (1886-1958), al-ʿAqqād (1889-1964), and al-Māzinī (1890-1949).

These three major exponents of the English impact on literature and literary journalism launched a harsh campaign of sharp biting criticism against the most established writers and poets. They accused Shauqī and Ḥāfiz of living in the past, imitating the classical Arab poets and failing to express modern feelings and attitudes.

Their slashing critical essays were published in al-Bayān, al-Jarīda, al-Muqtaṭaf, and the other leading periodicals involving the press in the most serious discussions of literature in the history

of modern Arabic criticism. The press organs welcomed with open arms this heated debate which promoted their sales and stimulated interest in the new currents of literature.

This campaign was a result of the great influence of the English critics, as Aqqad admitted:

> The (Diwān) School might have benefited from the English School of criticism more than from poetry and other forms of writing. I would not be mistaken to say that Hazlitt is the leader of all this school of criticism, for it was he who guided it to the essence of poetry and arts, the function of literary writing, and the points of analogy and imagery. The Egyptian writers who appeared at the beginning of the twentieth century were obsessed by Hazlitt and venerating his name. They were reading him over and again at a time when he was neglected in his country, hated by the majority of English people because he was advocating heterodox ideas in literature, criticism, and politics and nationalism. The Egyptian men of letters in their admiration of Hazlitt, were creative and not imitative. Their independent views in approaching foreign literatures were consolidated already by their previous readings of these literatures. They did not seek admission to the world of foreign literatures blindly or without individual points of views or discrimination.(21)

Hazlitt's impact. was so strong on the writers who were educated in English, because their critical theory was learnt first-hand from English sources and they acknowledged this in their periodical writings and in al-Diwān itself.(22)

The forceful influence of the English essayists, in fact, revealed itself earlier than the Diwan School movement, notably in the twenties of this century through sketches written in al-Jarīda and al-Bayān by a brilliant writer and essayist, Muhammad al-Sibāʿī who was nicknamed "Leigh Hunt's Student". He attempted successfully to imitate the English "sketch writing" of Hunt who wrote short descriptive pieces of prose for newspapers and magazines.

Dickens, as well, was translated into Arabic earlier in this century and his Sketches of Boz had strong influence on al-Sibāiʿī who was, for this reason, considered as the pioneer of writing Arabic sketches in the English tradition.(23)

However, it was the group of the three, Shukrī, ʿAqqād and Māzinī, who stirred up the literary debate on the pages of magazines and papers applying the Romantic method of appraising poetry and literature at the time when the Romantic mood began to dominate the literary scene in Egypt. They spared no effort to launch a spirited attack on the neo-classicists who had emerged as a result of the literary renaissance and the adoption of modernization. But the Diwān Group were not satisfied with the natural flow of literary activity and tried hard to radicalize the critical function, aggressively criticizing their contemporary leading writers and poets.

This reminds us of Hazlitt who attacked dead

and living literary figures alike, and quarrelled with most of his essayist friends except Charles Lamb. Leigh Hunt furnishes another example of a caustic tongue.

According to S.K. Jayyūsi, they were described as "an angry, hesitant and self-centered group, afflicted with the feelings of alienation, rebellion a and sorrow".(24) This state of mind led them to attack each other in a series of articles published in the leading literary organs.

They used al-Bayān magazine and ʿUkāz newspaper as their mouthpiece. Shukri, for example, accused Mazini of plagiarism on the ground that some of his poems and essays were mere translations from English Romantic poets and essayists. Shukrī's journalistic articles were later published in the preface to al-Khaṭarāt (Reflections) in response to Mazinī's book Ṣanam al-Alāʿib (Idol of Tricks) in which he accused Shukri of madness.(25)

The fact was that Shukrī in his book, al-Iʿtirāf (Confession) depicted himself as an Egyptian youth suffering from despair and day-dreaming. Shukrī's "Confession" was serialized in al-Bayān at first in 1916 which reminds us of De Quincey's Confessions of an English Opium Eater which was first printed in London Magazine in 1821.

It contained prose-poetic accounts of his opium dreams and descriptions of his life and sufferings. No wonder, because Shukri studied

English literature in the University of Sheffield from 1909 to 1912 and was preoccuped with the Romantic poets and essayists as well as Carlyle and Emerson.

One of his essays he published in al-Muqtaṭaf includes this moving passage:

> The variety of natural scenery in England has left a great effect on me. I still remember my first impression while I looked through the window of the train, of the difference between the new scenery and that which I used to see in Egypt.... The effect of this varied natural scenery has survived in me even after my return home. In England I have seen small valleys surrounded by mountains, hills and mountains covered with trees and snow, and the remains of ancient large forests whose impact on the observer were by no means smaller than those of the ancient forests themselves.... The sight inspired me to write many poems during my stay in England as well as after my return to Egypt. "The new social and artistic life was also a source of education to me".(26)

The trading of accusations even among friendly writers sheltered by one movement had a noticeable effect and spread to al-Thaqāfa, al-Bayān as well as other literary periodicals. In response to Shukri's campaign against Māzinī in which he accused him of translating essays from The Tatler and The Spectator and The Rambler and signing them himself, other critics sprang to the attack and accused Shukrī of the same practice. According to M.M. Badawī, lecturer in Arabic at Oxford, "much

of Shukrī's poetry reminds one of Edward Young's "Night Thoughts". And "In Paradise", a poem seen by one scholar to be intimately related to D.G. Rossetti's "The Blessed Damozel".(27)

Badawī added more evidence from Shukrī's poem "To the Wind" and described it as Shelleyan in its "dynamic Dionysian quality and in the author's desire to identify himself with the wind".(28)

However, one can add that the question of plagiarism in question could be attached to them all in the sense used by Shukrī. This happened at a time when the Egyptians were prepared to adopt new Western theories in art and literature, a process that enabled the Diwan Group(29) to publicize their ideas among the educated people, particularly those who were educated in England and France. It is quite difficult to sort the sheep from the goats among three writers who were exposed greatly to English influence in literature and culture in general. They were a coherent unit, reading the same books, believing in the same ideas, writing in the same magazines, and ultimately they shared the English impact almost to the same extent. Aqqad illustrates this point and he was undoubtedly the most active member of the group:

> There were many issues on which we shared the same views, whether in literature or other general cultural movements. I and my two colleagues,

> Māzinī and Shukrī were in agreement on our essays published in the magazines and newspapers, or on writing studies and books. No wonder there was this agreement bearing in mind that we were participants in one call, and had access to the same sources. We were, for many long years, exchanging discussions on different matters, events and thoughts.(30)

This growing interest in English language and literature was increasing persistently day by day. In the thirties of this century, ~~all the~~ most poets who appeared after Shawqī's generation were educated in the English language either at the Egyptian university which included many English professors, or through the student missions to Europe. Even those who acquired their higher education in France, found themselves unable to battle against the English current. Eventually they yielded to the ever increasing interest in English related subjects. Later we see Maṭrān, who was a French-educated poet, translating Shakespeare's plays from French into Arabic in line with the new tendencies in culture and society. Even Shauqi who was French-educated, wrote a famous poem commemorating Shakespeare's birthday.

ʿAqqād and Māzinī will be touched on later as essayists while we leave Shukrī at this stage for he was mainly a poet.

Nonetheless, it is noticeable that all the Romantic poets in England and Egypt were essayists as well whether coincidentally or intentionally and,

accordingly one cannot exclude journalism from their primary interests.

An example of this is the work of Abu Shādī (1892-1955) whose magazine Apollo appeared in 1932 to foster new talents and trends in poetry. It showed a keen interest in publishing essays advocating avant-garde poetry from which the modern Arabic poem emerged. When Apollo was launched, it was warmly welcomed by a group of poets who were actively in search of a new form of poetry to replace the traditional monorhyme poems and the classical shackles of convention. Soon they managed to form "The Apollo Group of Poetry", a modernist movement sheltering brilliant poets like Ibrāhīm Nājī, Ali Maḥmūd Ṭaha, and al-Ṣairafī. They, in turn, were deeply influenced by Abu Shādī who was himself preoccupied by English romanticism.

Abu Shādī, a physician and scientist came to Britain in 1912 to pursue his higher education and settled in London until 1922 after marrying an English woman. During his stay in England, John Haywood says: "He developed a keen interest in literature - especially Keats, Shelley, Wordsworth, Dickens, Arnold Bennet, and G.B. Shaw".(31)

In Egypt he started about eight magazines to publish his works and those of Apollo's members. Then he settled in the United States to work for the Voice of America and died there. But his literary activity in Egypt between the two World

Wars had great impact on the development of poetry in particular, because of his pioneering poems in which he was both Romantic and symbolist, he was even dubbed as Wordsworthian.(32)

Despite the Romantic mood adopted by his literary magazine, he translated The Tempest and from Edward Fitzgerald, The Rubaʿiyāt of Omar Khayyām. In this he tried to excel Māzinī and Sibaiʿī who both translated The Rubaiyat from the English of Fitzgerald.

Whatever merit he deserves, his Apollo started a new tendency towards specialisation in periodical literature. This trend revealed itself when Zayyāt launched al-Riwāya (The Novel), a specialized periodical publishing only novels and short stories. Its first issue appeared in 1937.

Political Bias

What is noticeable in literary journalism whether in England or Egypt is that political events created an atmosphere favourable to the literary periodicals in expressing a party spirit in handling new books or literary events. This is quite obvious in considering the controversial pamphleteering which flourished in England during the 16th and 17th centuries, and to a lesser extent in the 18th century.

During the rise of the periodicals, political discourse tried to seize the opportunity of having

a larger circulation and a stronger influence which were secured by the monthlies and weeklies.

We have seen how the Quarterly Review, a right wing Tory magazine, was launched in opposition to the Edinburgh Review which was left wing (Whig). The Saturday Review (1855-1931), for example, attacked Dickens because he was radical and it was highly conservative. And Bulwer Lytton's fiction was aggressively criticized by Fraser's Magazine (1830-1882), because he was a Liberal and the magazine was Tory.(33) Other examples were given in the first chapter.

In Egypt, literary journalism saw a similar situation but to a lesser degree. The British presence, for example, created an atmosphere, a "pro" or "anti" British occupation. There were of course some magazines defending the British presence or British culture, such as al-Muqtaṭaf or al-Muqaṭṭam. In opposition to these literary periodicals, some Egyptian men of letters launched their own ventures and initiated a movement towards politicizing literature.

Among these patriot papers were al-Muʾayyad, al-Liwaʾa, and al-Jarida. All three secured the contributions of the most outstanding writers and poets.

Al-Manfaluti, a regular writer of al-Muʾayyad was attacked unjustly by Ṭāha Hussain in al-Siyāsa newspaper, who accused him of being naive and

spreading the mood of melancholy in his periodical essays. Hussain's criticism was baseless and unconvincing so that he himself backed out of his previous position and delivered some speeches in which he acknowledged al-Manfalūṭī's achievements in artistic prose and essay writing.

This partisan spirit of one of Egypt's leading writers, Zayyāt said, was inspired by Jawish, editor of al-Liwa'a with whom Ṭāha Hussain had party links. This incident revealed later that Manfalūṭī was unjustly criticized because of his support of Sa'ad Zaghlūl, the famous political leader.(34)

Another example could be detected in some of 'Aqqād and Māzinī's critiques, particularly those concerning the neo-classicist poets and writers Shauqi and Ḥāfiz. They wrote a series of slashing articles which were highly subjective. Shauqī was "poet of the court", and he did not share with them their radical views:

> In this small and useful work, Rijāl 'Araftuhum (Men I Knew), Abbas Mahmūd al-Aqqad shows us unconvincingly that almost all the figures whose views we will be discussing here were involved in the politics of the day and indeed often in personal intrigues against each other. Furthermore, in his choice of poems of Shauqi for criticism in al-Diwan published in 1921, Aqqad demonstrates the occasional and/or political nature of much of Shauqi's poetry,...(35)

Māzinī furnishes another example in his criticism of Ḥāfiz's poetry, which was unjustly aggressive, but Māzinī abandoned his attitude ten years later, saying:

> ...as for criticism, we have dropped it altogether from our writings, without regret, for it was inspired by youth's foolishness.(36)

This party spirit was partly a consequence of indulgence in politics, but, to be fair, one has to say that the main issues of the literary battles were stimulated by the rigorous conflict between the modernists, including al-Diwān Group, and the traditionalists who walked against the wind of reforms in life and culture.

Personal feeling was a major stimulus behind the biased critiques especially those concerning Rafiʿī, Ḥāfiz, and Shauqī. Yet, this intense literary conflict in the columns of the press resulted in the creation of new standards of judgment and canons of literature which, in turn, intensified the literary debate and enhanced the role of the magazines. Accordingly new criteria of criticism were shaped and a critical language was polished.

A similar issue shook the realm of literature in Egypt and the rest of the Arab world in the fifties and sixties. Vers libre and its exponents this time, fell under severe attack by the magazines

and specialized periodicals advocating traditional poetry and opposing the movement of modern poetry which aimed to abandon the classical shackles of monorhyme and metre in conventional poetry. But the advocates of this movement were severely attacked by critics, writers and magazines, accusing them of being Western agents taking shelter under the umbrella of literature. Some magazines publishing modern poetry were banned from the press kiosks on the grounds that they were subsidized by American and British organizations charged with spreading imperialistic ideas.

This issue has been thoroughly investigated by scores of studies of modern Arabic poetry, but its connection with journalism deserves mention.

The literary magazines, in fact, were the first organs to introduce the new form of poetry or free verse in the tradition of Walt Whitman, Ezra Pound, T.S. Eliot and Stephen Spender. Spender's Encounter, for example, was banned from some Arab countries. This deplorable situation caused great damage to literary periodicals by pushing them into a corner where they had to choose what form of poetry they should publish. Their circulation was badly affected because of the abrupt shift in their readership. Some magazines modified their policy by publishing traditional poems alongside the modern form.

This modern poetry was regarded as a form of

prose at that time, even by such an outstanding critic as ʿAqqād who was chairman of the Poetry Committee at the Supreme Council for Arts and Literature in Egypt. When Ṣalāh Abdul Ṣabbūr, a leading avant-garde poet presented his collection of new poetry to the Committee, ʿAqqād passed it to the Prose Committee in the Council.

This incident on its own, caused an uproar in literary circles. To grapple with this complicated situation and ultra radical conflict, several literary magazines sprang to the attack and took sides according to their respective policies and attitudes towards modernity. Some specialized periodicals in poetry were launched in Cairo, Baghdad, Beirut and Damascus. But we must stick to the development of Egyptian literary journalism and its relation to the English literary impact.

Within this context, a major task was played by the bars and coffee-houses and literary salons in Egypt at the turn of the twentieth century. As the number of foreign communities increased and among them the English community, the number of bars and coffee-houses consequently began to grow particularly in Cairo. Men of letters, journalists, and poets were the first to frequent such places as they offered a suitable arena for discussion and gossip.

Groppī, al-Liwa'a and ʿAbidīn, leading coffee-

houses were among favourable meeting places for writers.(37) Papers, magazines and books were usually taken there as they were necessary to stimulate the debates which were reported by the press through articles, columns or essays. This reminds one of London coffee-houses in the 18th century which were frequented by writers and poets.

According to Abdul Laṭīf Ḥamza these bars and cafés attracted gradually the frequenters of literary meeting-places such as that of Nazli Fāḍhil, Ismael Ṣabrī, and Saʿad Zaghlūl, providing intensive cultural discussions among writers and poets of stature.(38)

But May Ziāda's Salon was a very notable assembly in Egypt because of the nature of the cultural sessions which were being held in her elegant house every Tuesday evening and attended by leading literary figures of that time. May herself was a brilliant writer and journalist and highly educated in French, English, Italian and Latin.

Discussions held in literary cultural subjects found their way to the press and inflamed the conflict between the traditionalists and modernists mentioned already. The critical essay in particular found a new arena in the subjects discussed.

As the years moved on, the offices of some papers and magazines were found to be a suitable place to hold discussion meetings. The offices of al-Jarīda, al-Bayān, al-Siyāsa, ʿUkāz, and al-Balāgh

took over the former literary salons and infused new life into the literary organs by fresh discussions:

> Every paper had its own fans and supporters who were conferring with its owners and editors, discussing various matters in literature, science, politics and society. Al-Jarida, Ukaz, al-Bayan, al-Sufur, al-Muqtataf, and al-Hilal, all held sessions of heated debate among their frequenters or on literature and culture in the tradition they were advocating.(39)

In fact, these weekly sessions whether in the private salons or in the offices of papers, deserved their success because of their richness and variety of subjects and views attracting young writers from other cities who first heard of them through the press. Some of them sponsored fresh talents and some new trends in literature or criticism.

ʿUkāz, for example, attracted Māzinī, Shukrī, and ʿAqqād to launch its campaign against conventional literature and to promote young promising writers. Hafiz was aggressively attacked in its pages by its fans. When its editor switched to the side of Shauqi, the prince of poets as he was dubbed, its fans and frequenters moved to another leading magazine in which al-Bayān advocated new ideas on criticism and poetry.(40)

It is said that the coffee-houses of Abidin and Rīsh resembled London coffee-houses in the 18th century.

In these literary café's Egyptian writers and poets exchanged books and magazines, and papers could pass through several hands. One scholar described them as liberal schools of thinking where prohibited poetry and literature were quoted or read.

In this way they helped democratize literature away from being an art of the elite.(41) However, one has to admit that without the literary magazines and papers, these literary sessions would have been forgotten. It was the association with the press which gave them the effect they produced.

Looking at the development of literary journalism in Egypt from the late 19th century to the 1950s, one may conclude that the association of literary writers with journalism was so close and vital that readers accepted this journalism as a new type of literature.

Writers and authors were very keen to utilize the press organs to form contacts with a larger audience and, at the same time, vitalize the role of the press by their rich contributions. This aspect reveals itself in the increasing number of readers who were very anxious to get, early in the morning, their copies of al-Ahrām, al-Jarida, and al-Siyāsa to read Matran, Lutfi al-Sayyid, or Haikal respectively. Readers also were used to dashing to the newstands to get papers publishing poems by Shauqi and Hafiz on a current affair or a political event that took place the day before.

Besides, one may add that the Egyptian literary journalism played a major role in introducing new genres of literature such as novels, short stories, and essays. The modernists in Egypt were exceptionally active in adopting Western thought either to proceed further in their literary achievements, or to help promote the cultural renaissance in the Arab East. They tended to use the press as a suitable vehicle capable of conveying their message of modernization. The essay, in turn, proved to be their favourite literary form, hence we found the Egyptian journalism, until the Second World War, largely essayistic.

But as the years moved on, the essay has been modified into feature article, column, editorial or leading article, a process that reminds one of its development in England. The essay by whatever name it might be called has proved to be vital in the development of literary journalism. And on this Arabic essay, the English essayists clearly had a decisive impact leading to striking similarities.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ARABIC ESSAY

- Forerunners
- The Risāla and maqāma
- Arabic essay and journalism
- Categories
- Modern development

"... the risāla (letter) and maqāma (assembly) are the classical antecedents of the modern arabic essay. The latter is, in a large measure, the product of the newspaper and magazine. It may owe something to the English essay of Bacon, Addison, Lamb, Hazlitt, and De Quincey, especially with certain writers such as Māzinī."

John Haywood

The evolution of the modern Arabic essay indicates striking similarities to the English essay both in form and content. Some of these similarities were the outcome of direct contact with Western culture and English literature in particular when Egypt, a leading Arab cultural centre, became a springboard for the English cultural impact on the Arab world.

Nevertheless, this fact does not overshadow the literary tradition of essay-writing in Arabic, rather it emphasizes the shaping influences of modern journalism with its mass circulation. The two fore-runners of the Arabic essay, the "risala" and "maqàma" have been stressed by English and Arab scholars who wrote in this form.(1) Coincidentally, these two antecedents awake the memory of the "character" and "pamphlet" in English letters which played a major role in shaping the English essay. In this respect the Arabic risāla, translated into letter or epistle, is looked upon as the earliest form from which the modern Arabic essay had emerged. Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib (d.750) wrote some letters which were

considered as models of epistolary style. His "Risāla Ila al-Kuttāb" (Letter to Writers) is about 1000 words in length handled in a prose treatise similar to the modern critical essay as regards topic and style.(2) Peculiarly, his letters, whether they were secretarial or personal ones, were devoid of excessively worded rhymed phrases. Mention in this respect is due to al-Jāhiz (d.869), Ibn al-ʿAmīd (d.969), and Abu Ḥayyān al-Tawhīdī (d.1030).

These outstanding stylists did much in the creation of what was named "the epistolary literature" in Arabic and paved the way to the modern Arabic essay. Some scholars and journalists went further to identify al-Jāḥiz as the leading journalist of his age.(3) This is an exaggeration since these writers had no idea of journalism in the modern sense of the word. Henceforth their talents went straight to the province of prose. H.A.R. Gibb the famous orientalist, illustrated this point when he said:

> ..., the way once opened by secretarial insha' (composition), so tempting an ornament of Arabic speech could not be permanently excluded from general literature, especially in a society of philologists, and it was rapidly introduced into most branches of belle-lettres to impart brilliance, wit, and polish. This was a momentous step in the development of Arabic prose.(4)

In this work, touching on Arabic prose from time to time is relevant because it is the principal medium through which the essay and journalism were handled.

Accordingly, the term risala seems more relevant to the tradition of essay-writing as a literary genre rather than journalism which was introduced to the Arabs at the turn of the 19th century. As has been indicated, the English essay-ists, as well, were great prose writers and their letters were couched in essay form, a fact which prompted their publication in collected volumes. The word risala is also applied to a monograph, epistle, or essay, which led some scholars to link Arabic epistolary prose with modern journalism.

The Maqamāt

The other prominent herald of the essay is the "maqāma", usually translated into English as "assembly" or "lecture".(5) We shall deal with this form here because it provided the model for the writers and literary journalists of the 19th century before the introduction of the modern Arabic essay. It is worth noting that the form of maqāma survived until the turn of this century leaving a tradition that spanned ten centuries. Ḥarīri's Assemblies, for example, had been "esteemed" by some to be next to Koran, the chief treasure of Arabic tongue.(6) The maqāmāt were translated into Latin, French and English as early as the late 18th century and some English scholars went farther to suggest that the maqāmāt were known to Europeans since the Crusades in the eleventh century.(7)

Ever since it was discovered European scholars have tried to find out a counterpart genre of the maqāmāt in European literature. H.A.R. Gibb, for example said that this type was represented in European literature by Aucasssin and Nicolette, while T. Chenery remarked that "The work with which the Assemblies will be most readily compared is the Cassandra, or Alexandra of Lycophorn.(8)

It is worth noting, however, that despite the great efforts of the great Oriental scholar, Silvestre de Sacy, to publish the Assemblies of al-Hariri at the beginning of the 19th century, it was the English Orientalists who detected the essayistic character of the Assemblies. Some of them even used the word "essay" as equivalent of maqāma or assembly. Thomas Chenery for example, said that "... it is certain that Hariri's first essay in this kind of writing was received with unbounded applause".(9) English Orientalists had also displayed the moral purpose in writing maqāmāt and they stressed that they were entertaining and instructive, a function, the English essay, as has been indicated, aimed at. The fictitious "Rāwī" or narrator of the Assemblies had been introduced to offer the audience his learning and the experience he acquired during his travels. He tends to amuse his listeners through subtle linguistic games and witty remarks. The narrator, in fact, reminds one of Isaac Bickerstaff, who was Richard Steele hidden

behind his words. The assemblies' writers used the tradition of hiding behind a fictitious hero. Al-Hamadānī (d.1008), the real founder of this genre in Arabic used Abul Fatḥ al-Iskandarī as his fictitious narrator and al-Ḥarīrī, the greatest master of maqāmāt used Abu Zayd al-Surūjī. These imaginary heroes were put forward to give liveliness to the composition and display the literary power of the author. The narrator was at any time able to improvise poems or prose writings in a highly elaborated style. The assemblies were frequently recited in coffee-houses or cultural clubs marking a dramatic element which Arabic literature was wanting. The aim of amusing was quite apparent in the way these maqāmāt were presented. "The Assemblies were written, primarily, to amuse and entertain, and they were listened to with pleasure by numbers who cared nothing for their hidden learning", said Chenery.(10) Being written in a form almost similar to the "frame story", the assemblies depicted the best picture of society as one anecdote sheds light on a particular aspect of life. This tendency of the assemblies brings Chaucer's Canterbury Tales to the memory, as well as some aspects of the Arabian Nights. It might be this characteristic that enables the maqamat to achieve popularity in European literatures. Chenery mentioned that "German literature has been enriched with a brilliant imitation of the assemblies, by the

gifted Bückert".(11) Yet, in this study we are more concerned with the essayistic aspects of the assemblies with their ornate style as the earlier Arab journalists used them in their literary magazines. The literary essay in Arabic journalism borrowed from the assemblies their artifice, rhymed prose, rich vocabulary and the archaic devices of rhetoric. The maqāmāt, in fact, were well adapted to essay-writing, as they are essentially linguistic and stylistic tours de force.(12) To throw more light on this issue it would be useful to quote John Haywood pinning down a definition of the assemblies:

> Maqāma, plural maqāmāt, sometimes translated in French as seance, a medieval literary form which survived until the end of the 19th century. It is characterised by ornate language, with extensive use of rhetorical devices and rich vocabulary. Normally only a few pages long, individual maqāmāt differ considerably, at times resembling an essay, at times a learned article, at times a short story - or an essay with an anecdotal element. Poetry is often included, usually to display some skill in manipulating the language or prosody. Whatever the detailed characteristics of a maqama, it is essentially a linguistic tour de force, a display of virtuosity. Several authors wrote series of maqamat, within a "frame story".(13)

In this accurate definition of the assemblies one can put one's finger on the journalistic elements of this genre which involve language, style topicality and personal learning and experience.

These elements, of course, where handled in the maqāmāt and then in the essays, in an epistolary style heavily charged with classical rhetorical devices through which the author displays his power of mastery of language. This method has been carried on by such modern writers who were closely associated with the press as Naṣif al-Yaziji (1800-1871) and Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq (1804-1887) and could not abandon the classical shackles of prose artifice.

Yāzijī, for example, despite his relations with the orientalists and American missionaries and journalists, was living in the old literary forms written in the 9th century. He fell under the spell of Hamadānī and Ḥarīrī and wrote sixty assemblies known as Majmaᶜa al-Baḥrain (the confluence of two seas) which were printed in Beirut in 1856 and later translated into Latin by A.F. Mehren.

It is interestingly said that the French Consul in Beirut encouraged him to go ahead with this genre which testifies to his mastery of language. It would be relevant to give examples of his prose style, but the effect of Arabic rhetoric is hard to reproduce in translation. J. Haywood took the initiative to offer a fragment translated from Yaziji's last maqāma doing his best to convey the rhymed sentences:

> Said Suhail ibn ʿAbbās: I met Abu Laila (Maimūn) in the Aqṣa mosque in Jerusalem, in a crowd so great that none could number them. The people encompassed him like the two tribes of Ajrab and surrounded him like the two (Meccan) mountains of Akhshab. He preached to them with warnings dire, threatening the punishment of the Fire, and the requital the Next World will require. Their tears poured forth in spate, so that their vitals were ready to disintegrate. Then when Maimūn saw me he fixed me with his eyes, and seemed ready to rise.(14)

The rhymed prose, however, is a major characteristic of the Arabic literature. Until the First World War, it was used in all forms of writing. Even in works translated from other languages, the translators could hardly avoid alliteration and rhymed phrases. The force of the convention was even great with the modernist journalists and writers like Shidyāq.

Within this context, it is fitting to touch on him because of the bridge he established between the traditional maqāma style and the modern journalistic essay.

His magazine al-Jawa'ib (1861) played a great role in shaping the modern essay by its tendency towards abandoning the style of maqāmāt and adopting the new method of journalistic prose based on simple straightforward use of language to suit the common reader.

However, this tendency had been hampered by the influence which traditional prose continued to

exert. Accordingly we find Shidyāq himself writing assemblies and publishing essays and articles full of rhetorical devices. Nonetheless, one has to admit that Shidyaq was the greatest Arab journalist in the second half of the 19th century and that his effort to develop the modern style of Arab journalism cannot be belittled. He was a landmark in the realm of modern Arabic prose. Because of his mastery of several Eastern and European languages, he was invited to England in 1848 to help in the Arabic translation of the Bible.

He settled in England for some years and acquired British citizenship. In his book Kashf al-Mukhabbā an Funūn Urubbā (A revelation of the secrets of the arts of Europe) 1866, he devoted seventy pages to the description of London and its life. Shidyaq must be remembered for his initiation of the leading article in his paper which he used to write himself.

His efforts in literary journalism and the extreme care he had shown for prose language did much to create a new method tending to adapt the traditional maqāma to the demands of journalism at its formative period with an end-result which was essayistic in form.

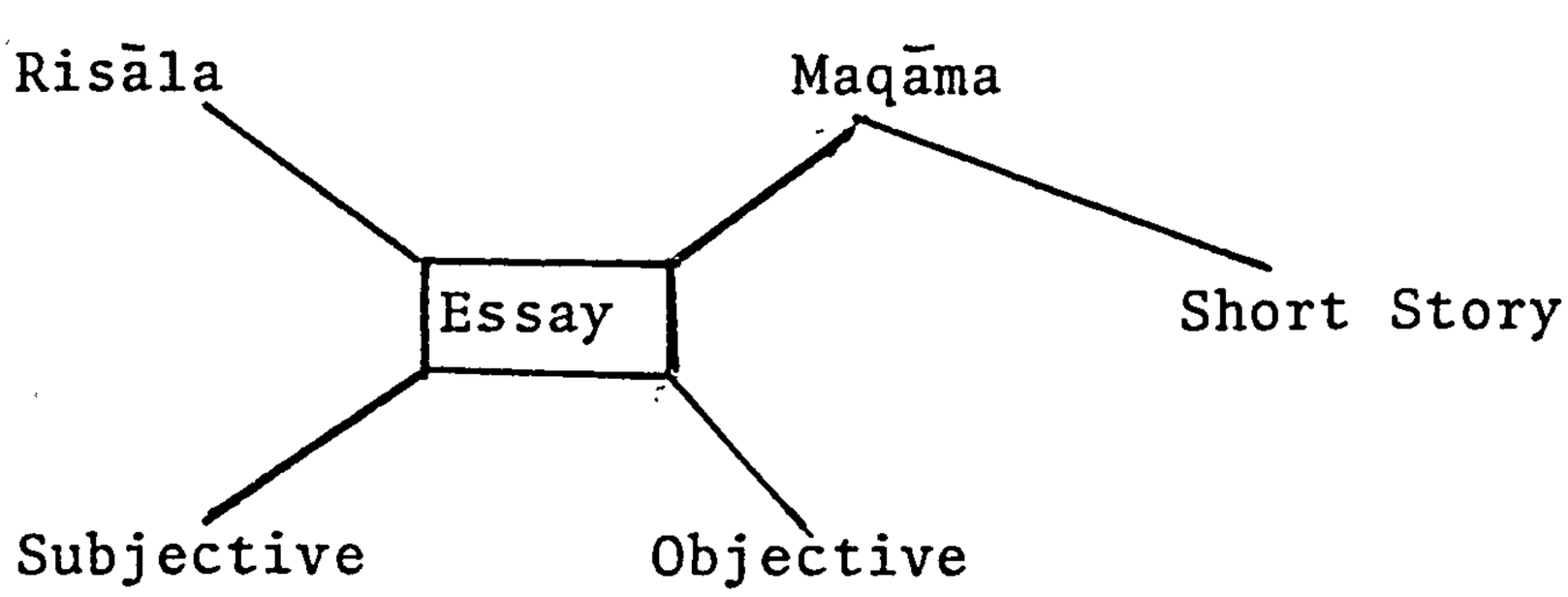
Al-Shidyāq, in fact, represented a period of transition marked by a keen desire to develop a new style more suitable to the changes taking place in society at a time when Western influence

was growing. By advocating this modern trend Shidyāq stimulated other leading writers to carry on the process of promoting a new journalistic style devoid of the classical shackles.

Even at the beginning of this century, Muhammad al-Muwailiḥī tried hard to adapt his maqamat to contemporary requirements. His assemblies, Ḥadīth ʿIsa bin Hishām were published serialized in his magazine, Miṣbaḥ al-Sharq and then in book form in 1907. These maqamat were assigned reading in a text book used by the Egyptian schools to build up the talent of writing among the students.

He dealt with subjects closer to the essay than to the traditional form of maqāma. His style was to a considerable extent, lucid and vivid, but literary artificiality left its trace on his paragraphs. However, Muwailiḥī steered a middle course and encouraged other leading writers to adapt the maqamat to embody new bearings in Egyptian cultural life.

Soon he was imitated by Ḥāfiz and Muhammad Lutfī Jumaʿ's Layālī al-Rūḥ al-Haʾir.(15)



At the turn of this century, writing essays in the tradition of maqāma came to an end with the introduction of modern literary canons and the rise of journalism in Egypt.

The Essay

At a quick glance of the bulk of translations from Western literatures, one might imagine that the Arabic short story or novel would emerge soon and establish itself as a literary genre. It was obvious that translations from French and English in the 19th century tended to convey into Arabic whatever was possible from European story and novel, while the English essay was drawn on less. Therefore, Egyptian writers were expected to launch their own fiction writings after being introduced to works of fiction by leading European novelists and story writers.

But, unexpectedly, the essay sprang to the stage of journalism and belle-lettres with which it shared some aspects of tradition. In the first two decades of this century, both the short story and the essay in the English tradition were introduced to the Arabs through the literary periodicals, the essay in particular seemed more attractive.

It has been pointed out that the Arab writers and journalists in Egypt were striving to absorb modern trends in culture and literature and revitalize their literary tradition which was

relegated and put on the shelf during the Ottoman era. They were intent on developing a modern style encompassing the riches of their tradition and the new genres carried to them by the wind of change coming from the West. The efforts of Shidyaq and Muwailiḥī to adapt the maqāma to modern exigencies did not suffice and writers were not satisfied with such ventures at that time. They looked around and found their language dragged down into ruins, full of vulgarisms, Turkish words, and weak vocabulary. Their ambition "was to rescue the Arabic language from its degeneration in the proceeding centuries and to restore the heritage of classical literary art.(16) Napoleon's invasion caused a great intellectual shock in Egypt and the Arab world, and now the time came for the English cultural impact to give the death-blow to the age of decline. The stage on which to make literary reputation and present literary Arabic to modern themes, was provided by the Egyptian press which was run by writers.(17) In line with these developments, the essayists took the lead in promoting artistry in prose and vitality in journalism. This role of the essay has been aptly illuminated by Gibb:

> Alongside these new arts, a highly significant role is being played by the Literary essay. Broadly speaking, the aim of the essayists has been not only to present critical evaluations of both

> classical Arabic and Western literature, as well as social criticism in general, but to relate the values of the Arab cultural tradition, in the widest sense to the modern world.(18)

As regards the Western literature, mentioned by Gibb, the School of English Romanticism was the major preoccupation of the Arab essayist. As has been noticed before, the French essay did not make itself at home, and had been developed and shaped by the English essayists who showed great mastery of the form. Nevertheless, it was the French Revolution which accelerated the Romantic mood in England and elsewhere.

As for the Arabs, they found in the Western Romantic literature the elements and moods that suited them most. They found a literature that goes deep in the soul, expressing rich and creative imagination, literature that genuinely depicted the life and language of the common man. From the last decades of the 19th century and until now, the Arabs have been preoccupied with Romanticism, translating Romantic works and writing in Romantic vein. They actually showed relatively little care for European realism.(19) The Romantic spirit whether French or English, revealed itself in Egypt in poetry, criticism and the essay.

Significantly, the Arabic essay led the way in originating the Romantic mood and modes in modern Arabic literature. The man who started the Romantic

ball rolling was the great Arab essayist Muṣṭafa Luṭfī al-Manfalūṭī (1876-1924). With him journalism and its expressive medium of the day, the essay, became art, more specific and attuned to the needs of his era than the forms available to him. He was in fact, more influential on Arabic prose and literary essay than has been said of him. Not only his popularity but also his influence are still very much alive. He came into contact with European Romanticism and gave true and full expression in his essays al-Nazarāt that appeared weekly on al-Mu'ayyad paper since 1907. These Nazarāt (views) were later published in three volumes in 1910 and sold a million copies, and were used widely by most Arab schools as a model for essay writing. No other book achieved such popularity ever since its launching, a phenomenon which caught the attention of some English scholars among others.(20) His popularity has been ascribed to his lucid, fluent and simple style, while other scholars such as S.K. Jayyūsi linked his reputation with his successful choice of the Romantic inclination which suited the young generation of intellectuals:

> Al-Manfalūṭī's great talent showed itself first of all in his instinctive realization of what was needed in literature at that time, namely, reading material of a kind that could satisfy the emotional promptings of a society newly awakened to its own handicaps and disappointments, which would forge a link with the West and, at the same

> time, keep a firm grasp of the best in the old traditions both in style and ideas.(21)

Jayyūsī, here, agrees with Gibb in pointing to the need felt by the essayists to rescue the literary tradition while keeping a bird's eye view on the modern trends coming from the West in the late 19th century. To this need Manfalūṭī responded in a reasonable and successful way by steering a middle course between the traditional style of maqāma and the modern method of writing for the press. He felt that some journalists did not give the Arabic language its due care causing great damage to its standards. The maqāma, on the other hand, could not adapt sufficiently to express the spirit of the age. In view of this situation, Manfalūṭi took the lead in fathering a new prose style, journalistic in character but rich and lucid. By this he set the model for Arab journalists and writers who eventually fell under his spell whether of their own accord or not. His command of language and form, the variety of his topics, and his Romantic note of melancholy made him the great master of the Arab essay who "challenges comparison with essayists in many other languages", as John Haywood said.(22) This evaluation arises partly from the fact that Manfalūṭi made the essay his private form which more than his poetry enabled him to be up to his responsibility as a moral writer. The essay, in fact, can give itself to individuality more than

poetry and that's what happened to Manfalūṭī. He excelled in his style on al-Muʾayyad inviting admiration and public applause for a new artistic prose never seen before in classical writing, or in the deprived language of the press or the inaccuracy of translation. Writers and readers alike received the new prose style of Manfaluṭi as a genuine expression of their inner minds and their needs to a form of writing capable of blending modernity and simplicity with the riches of their literary heritage. Manfalūṭī in his individual approach managed to grapple with cultural problems of his age and set himself to maintain the standards of the grand style and adapt the Arabic vocabulary to the type of journalism that would both instruct and entertain. However, he was more instructive rather than entertaining and he himself remarked that he wrote to benefit people and not to amuse them. So the popularity of this didactic method might be ascribed to the fact that his readers were greatly concerned with the problems of daily life. These problems were receiving more attention because of the spread of education and the intense activities of the women's movement. This cultural explosion put Manfalūṭī and his contemporaries face to face with a wider horizon and new arena to battle with the problems and issues arising from political, social, and cultural changes. Manfalūṭī, actually showed a very keen interest in treating social problems such

as suicide, marriage, love, death, poverty, manners and behaviour and the like. But it must be remembered that he handled these questions in a vivid, easy and dignified style marked with the revival of the language of the common man.

By this tendency he attaches himself to the Romantic attitude towards returning to the old way of literature, the very language of man; like Wordsworth, he condemned the poetic diction:

> As for the intimate talk, it is that prose or poetry when you hear it, you feel its author beside you talking to you intimately without artificiality or pedantic philosophy.

Then he remarked:

> If you come across a line of verse, difficult to be comprehended, and heavily charged, and you feel stiff and motionless before it as if it were a dead corpse, be learned that this line bears no meaning and there is no life in it.(23)

These and other remarks of Manfaluti are in the spirit of Wordsworth's description of the poet as "a man speaking to men" and his condemnation of the poetic diction in his preface to the Lyrical Ballads:

> If poetry comes not as naturally as the leaves to a tree it had better not come at all.(24)

We do not assume that Manfalūṭī read Wordsworth in English, but he might have read him either in Arabic or French translation. With assistance he translated some French novels and short stories. Nevertheless, the reader of his essays frequently comes across a mention of English authors such as Spencer, Shakespeare, Hume, Bacon, Dr. Johnson, and Kipling among others. For example he quoted an English writer expressing his high appreciation of Kipling's achievements in the development of English language despite his grammatical mistakes.(25)

However, French Romantic writings were among his primary sources because he translated such famous plays as Cyrano de Bergerac by Edmond Rostand, and Pour La Couronne by Francois Coppee, and the novel, Sous les Tilleuis by Alphonse Karr and Paul et Virginie by Bernardin de Saint-Pierre.(26)

This interest in French Romanticism was awakened in him by a group of Syro-Egyptianized writers who were known for their translations from Western literature and the literary magazines they launched to advocate Romantic writings.

Manfalūṭī himself acknowledged his debt to them in an essay entitled: "a hana?un am ʿaza?a" (rejoice or condolence):

> In the aftermath of Ottoman Constitution, many distinguished Syrians left Egypt after having furnished it with their attainments and merits to convert it into a paradise rich with sciences and

> literatures. They left after teaching the Egyptians those superior experiences in journalism, writing books and translation. They achieved this being messengers of goodness between the Western and Eastern civilizations conveying from the perfection of the first what the latter was lacking.(27)

This acknowledgement, however, does not belittle his Azharite background and his intimate relationship with Muhammad ʿAbdu, Zaghlūl, Ali Yousif and others. Rather it does show his enthusiasm for modernity in style in which the Syro-Egyptianized school took the lead. Nevertheless, one may conclude that the popularity of his style was the outcome of his thorough awareness of the Arabic literary tradition and his desire to liberate Arabic prose from its classical shackles and adapt it to modernity. It appears that Manfalūṭī gave himself entirely to the task of developing his individual style to be used effectively in discussing everyday problems and issues. So Manfalūṭī the essayist and poet, collaborated with Manfalūṭī the journalist, hand in hand and enhanced the everyday language of man to the extent that made his style dominate the realm of the Arab essay and invited writers of stature to single him out for detailed studies:

> Special tribute must be paid to Manfaluti's exquisite sense of form in his essays. He often begins in a straightforward way, stating that the problem under discussion, then gradually works up to a climax, and

> finally dies away to the end of the essay. The essay may be a cautionary tale, a reasoned argument, an impressionistic picture, or a poem in prose.(28)

Haywood stresses two aspects of Manfalūṭī's essay; namely the elements of short story and poetic prose which led Haywood to compare him with Lamb and then describe him as Wordsworth and Shelley rolled into one unsuccessfully.(29) Lamb, indeed, is the nearest Romantic essayist to Manfalūṭī in his personal reminiscences, the stories embodied in his essays, the interest in the natural past, and his poems in prose, as well as using verse quotations to clinch his arguments.

These characteristics are common amongst almost all the Romantic essayists and in Egypt one can single out Manfalūṭī and Māzinī as the major exponents of the essay in the tradition of Lamb. The short story element in Manfalūṭī's essays is quite apparent, a fact which led writers and scholars to include him among the earlier story writers. His book al-ʿAbarāt (tears) is a collection of stories of his own as well as some translated ones. However, he did not excel in his stories despite the flow of translated fiction to which he found easy access through the literary magazines. It seems that his eloquence and lucid prose overshadowed his weakness in his stories which "cannot stand the test of good story writing".(30) Yet, within

the context of the Arabic short story, he deserves mention as a pioneer who effectively responded to European story writing and attracted a wider audience in his time. It could well be the elastic nature of the essay that drove him towards a new European genre carried to Egypt and the Arab East by the wind of modernity. It was for al-Muʾayyad that he primarily wrote his essays which made his reputation, like Lamb's Essays of Elia which were written for the London Magazine. His aim then was to discuss the problems of a transitional society in journalistic vein rather than in fiction because he was by profession, a journalist.

As for his poetic prose which Haywood and others touched on, one may observe that when poets attempt prose, they cannot hide the inner poetic which reveals itself involuntarily within the words. Manfalūṭī was a genuine poet whose creative imagination found another medium and outlet in the essay which has much in common with Romantic poetry and at times rivals its beauty. In The Morrow, from Nazarāt he said:

> The morrow is a vast rolling sea, with swelling billows amid roaring waves. It does not tell you whether it hides in its depths pearl and jewel, or death violent and cruel.... The morrow is a breast replete with secrets, round which men's mind hover, and which their intellectuals gradually discover.(31)

The internal music and repeated cadence of some rhythmical feet reminds one of Lamb's Christ's Hospital:

> Nor shalt though, their compeer, be quickly forgotten, Allen, with the cordial smile, and still more cordial laugh, which thou wert wont to make the old Cloisters shake, in thy cognition of some poignant jest of theirs; or the anticipation of some more material, and, peradventure, practical one, of thine own.

In this short paragraph one cannot assume that Lamb's choice of words was arbitrary; for the words: forgotten Allen, cordial material practical, one own, make shake; indicate a conscious pattern of sound and prose rhythms. It is this choice of words that led critics to accuse both Lamb and Manfalūṭī of using archaic diction despite their Romantic nature.(32)

Thomas De Quincey, on the other hand, furnishes a better example of "prose poem", but his influence is apparent on Māzinī who will be discussed later in this study. Nevertheless, Manfalūṭī is compatible with Lamb in many aspects of essay-writing, one of which is directly addressing the reader in a method more Carlylese than being Romantic. Several examples from Lamb could be picked up at random:

* Reader, if haply thou art blessed with a moderate collection, be shy of showing it...

* Reader, would'st thou know what true peace and quiet mean;...

* Reader, try it for once... (33)

Manfalūṭī carried this tradition a pace farther, addressing the moon, the palace, the star, and the like as well as using frequently such words as: O mother, O man, O my dear writer, O poets etc. In this, the essayist seems more like a preacher delivering his sermon that a writer involved in an argument, a phenomenon which indicates the didactic aspect of the essay. It also exhibits the characteristic of "self-idealization" of which the familiar essay is a very suitable medium as most of the leading essayists are above all individualists.

This individuality of Manfalūṭī, is shown at its best in the long introduction that he wrote to the collection of familiar essays Nazarāt. There he depicted a picture of his early childhood, his background and the way he acquired his familiar style. In that introduction he stressed his individuality by turning to his readers preaching to them and demanding that they should not imitate his style as everyone is his own style:

> Many people ask me, as they usually ask writers and poets, about my style in writing letters, as if they want to know the path I trod so as to set foot in. Better if they do not know that for I do not like them and those interested in literature to confine themselves with my style or any of others. They should know that I could not have established my individual style which they know me with, had I not liberated myself from the shackles of imitation.(34)

In this tendency he is very Romantic bearing in mind that the concept of Romanticism can be misleading since those poets and writers called Romanticists did not think of themselves as romantic but rather as individualists. But as far as Manfaluti is concerned, he shared with the European Romanticists their freedom in language, melancholy, solitude, imagination, and the expression of human feelings. In his essays and short stories there is a pervasive note of excessive sentimentality and melancholy which some critics found merely depressing. Both ʿAqqād and Māzinī attacked his melodramatic exaggeration and romantic pessimism through which he tried to attract sympathy for his victimized characters.(35) ʿAqqād severely criticized him for his ultra sentimentality and pervasive melancholy but he acknowledged his achievement in developing the style and establishing the plain language of the essay. Māzinī, on the other hand was unfair in his attack and later backed down from his slashing criticisms describing them as the outcome of foolishness. It is these uneven attacks that allowed Dusuqi to accord to Manfaluti his true merit justifying his Romantic agony in the light of Dusūqi's readings of the Western Romanticism of which melancholy is a distinctive characteristic. It seems that this moodiness of Manfalūṭī suited his nature and temper and forced its way through his stories and essays which were marked with

sentimentality and passion(36). Yet, whatever may be said of his pathetic manner and some outmoded themes, his style won him his singular pre-eminence(37) and the admiration of leading Arab essayists like Zayyāt who was greatly influenced by his polished style.

If Manfalūṭi was the greatest Arab exponent of the essay in the tradition of Montaigne, Yaʿcūb Ṣarrūf (1852-1927), on the other hand, was the leading exponent of the Baconian essay. He started his cultural work in Lebanon as a professor of science and rhetoric in the American University in Beirut in 1870 and founded al-Muqtaṭaf in 1876 with his co-editor Fāris Nimr. Ṣarrūf won popularity by his scientific prose (al-nathr alʿilmī) as opposed to art prose (al-nathr al-fannī) and excelled in his scientific essays in his magazine which was dedicated to the dissemination of European thought and English culture in particular. In his essays he showed great mastery of the form handling literature and scientific matters with clarity and simplicity but in an impressive and charming style. He was helped by his scientific background and his keen interest in Arabic language and literature.

As an active journalist he flooded his magazine with scientific literature, narrative and essays marked with economy of words as well as being charming.(38) Due to his achievements in journalism

and Arabic prose, he was recognized as one of the architects of the Arab cultural renissance and his influence was great on the leading Egyptian essayists. But ʿAqqād seemed to be more impressed by him than the others and he expressed his happiness at meeting him at the office of al-Muqtaṭaf for the first time when ʿAqqād was a young and promising journalist. He wrote later that literature greatly benefited from Sarruf in regard to clear meaning and unquestionable authority at a time when literature lacked precise meaning and unaffected style.(39) But he did not elaborate and stress Ṣarrūf's importance in establishing the scientific essay as a form of scientific literature closely linked with journalism because it appeared firstly in magazines aiming at simplifying science so as to appeal to the majority of readers. In al-Muqtataf Ṣarrūf used to write series of essays either discussing current theories or summarizing books written by American or English authors. So Sarruf's significance lies in his serious approach to the essay and his great efforts to adapt Arabic language to absorb new inventions and discoveries. He set himself to invent new terms, Arabize some, and translate others, accommodating all these within the standard Arabic language. By this he was an exemplar of the flexibility and precision of the Arabic language and its ability to provide each art with its technical vocabulary.(40)

To give the man his due, one may conclude that through Ṣarrūf the Arabic essay reached a new phase in its development; and writers and critics became familiar with what might be named "the scientific essay" which achieved its established identity in the hand of Ṣarrūf and his influential magazine al-Muqtaṭaf. By now the distinction between artistic writing and scientific writing became clear in that the first aims at expressing human feelings and experiences in a figurative and aesthetic style, whereas the latter tends to be informative, instinctive, and using facts and logic to appeal to its readers. However, it must be remembered that Ṣarrūf's style was grand and elaborated, but at the same time charming. He stressed the importance of the literary language to the scientist who is keen to be precise and clear. It could be this quality that led Rafi'ī to compare him with Jāḥiz. It could also be his deep interest in animal life on which he wrote numerous essays, eighty of which were published after his death in book form: Chapters on Animal and Plant Life (1931).

In these essays he used imaginary conversations concerning man as well as animals and plants. His aim, of course was educational.(41)

The Modern Arabic Essay.

Having established its literary form through journalism, the Arabic essay in the first two decades of the 20th century onward, came to be recognized as a precise genre journalistic in character, as practised by the outstanding writers. Through the years of its development, it acquired its principal aspects which made it the nearest comparable form with the English essay.

The rise of Arab journalism, the revival of prose, and the spread of education helped the essay widen its horizon and appeal to a larger audience and accommodate its growing aspirations for social reforms and modernity. In line with these demands, the essayists became more convinced of their responsibilities in vitalizing the Arab Press by their serious contributions. The essay effectively dominated the press, whereas the news was relegated to second place. In this situation, writers and journalists were in a race to master this increasingly popular and familiar genre. If a writer were to make his reputation, the essay was the arena in which to achieve this aim. This competition, in turn, did much in shaping the essay in form, content, and style. The term "essayist" was honoured with dignity and offered a position not below that of the poet or novelist. Essayists like ʿAqqād, Māzinī, Rafiʿi and Zayyāt were, in fact, the most prominent literary figures and

journalists of their age. They set their pens to plough the field of the essay, reaping rich harvests, utilizing all the achievements of the English and French essayists who mastered this form.

But since the essay, as a French invention did not make itself at home, it is the English essay that left its trace clearly on the Arab essay due to the efforts of those Egyptian writers who were educated in English. Dr. Johnson's definition of the essay was echoed by the Egyptian essayists and those who discussed the genre. ʿAqqād, for example, quoted Dr. Johnson saying that the essay is "a loose sally of the mind", and indicated that Johnson's definition is more relevant to the feature article written in haste to comply with the ephemeral nature of the press.(42)

Zeki Najīb Maḥmūd, an essayist and writer on philosophy, adopted Johnson's definition and took it as a canon of criticism. He remarked that the English critics agree with what Johnson said of the essay. He claimed that Johnson wanted the essay to be an untrimmed bush rather than a tidy well-organized garden.(43) Maḥmūd set himself to apply the English tradition to the Egyptain essay, calling on writers and critics to read what he dubbed "Addison, the god of the English essay".(44) It is clear that Maḥmūd was greatly influenced by both the English critics and the essayists as well as adopting what has been said of the essay by the

majority of critics and writers. In his collection of essays, he set the rules in the first essay which stood as a general introduction, and tried to abide by them himself. Due to the popularity of his book, it may be relevant to pause for a while and cast a brief look on the English model as he set it out and called the Arab writers to imitate it.

Maḥmūd wanted the essay to be devoid of plan or the traditional three constituents namely, the introduction, the middle, and the conclusion. The essay in his view should be a sort of satirical criticism of an aspect of life and literature. It should be handled in a style that resembles the lyric as both the essay and the lyric go deep in the human soul and depict the deepest feelings. It is not a prose composition written by students or a chapter of a text book. In addition he wanted the essay writer to be incisive and humorous at the same time, depicting a genuine experience. As regards the Romantic approach of the essay, Maḥmūd suggested that the writer should be an intimate narrator, talking to his readers as a friend conversing courteously, and not as a preacher, or a teacher addressing students. This concern with the essay arose from the fact that it had become a favourite literary form. He illustrated this situation in the first of his collected essays which aroused criticism:

> The essay in Egypt is almost the sole container in which the writer pours his memoirs and feelings. Our writer is short-winded, a single essay is good enough for him to engulf, within its few streams, all his heated passions as well as the ideas that busy his mind. When he gets angry with a defect in the structure of society or individuality, he dashes to the essay to discharge his fury. If our writer gets enchanted by the attractive beauty of nature, he hurries to the essay to disseminate his astonishment and admiration.
>
> As for the writer who tends to treat the gloom of the frustrated by publishing a series of stories to match the thousands of pages written by Dickens, and as for the writer who sympathises with the workers through his writings for the theatre play after another like Galsworthy, and as for that other who receives a letter from a reader asking for the meaning of socialism and responds by writing a two-volume book as G.B. Shaw did, and the writer who sees a universal solution to the problems of the world by establishing a universal government controlling the whole world affairs and writes on that more than fifty books as H.G. Wells did, this type and that of writers did not emerge in Egypt. Therefore, the solution for the frustrated lies in an essay that also suffices to secure victory for the workers and is good enough to offer a solution to the world crisis. The essay in our country is the haven of the writer...(45)

This quotation, despite its relative length, is useful in shedding light on two significant points, notably the familiar essay as a favourite form of writing, and the reference to some English authors. It illustrates, in addition, the familiarity with English literature of Egyptian authors and men of letters. The period between the two World Wars saw an intense literary activity in translating

English writers into Arabic as well as writing on English cultural and literary trends and traditions. The novel, story, essay, and review came to establish a literary tradition in Arab belle-lettres. As regards the essay, it began to get rid of the long introduction and padded body to match the form in English. Essayists themselves began to talk of their individual style and to pin down the limits of the genre. Like the English predecessors, they wrote several essays on the essay which in turn enhanced the process of literary criticism as well as laying the foundation of conscious and clearly defined form of writing. These essays on style, remind one of "On the Familiar Style" and "Farewell to Essay-Writing" by Hazlitt, and "Style" and "Rhetoric" by De Quincey and the like. As has been pointed out before, the English essay, not the French, was taken as a model against which the Arabic essay was to be shaped. This process, inevitably, focussed the readers' attention on its close links with the English essay, particularly as handled by Addison, Johnson, Lamb, Hazlitt, De Quincey and Macaulay. This aspect could be clearly seen in the writings of those commentators, whether Arab or English, who touched on literary journalism in Egypt and the Arab East. Those scholars who tried to extract a definition of the Arab essay from its tradition, discovered a striking similarity to the English genre. Haywood, for example,

found some difficulty in defining it but concluded in similar terms to the C.O.D.. "By the (Arab) essay, we mean a short piece of prose (ranging very roughly, perhaps, from one to thirty pages) devoted to a single subject. It must consciously aim at a good style - whatever that may mean - and an imaginative approach is almost mandatory".(46)

Once again, this definition emphasises the relation with the English essay, bearing in mind that Haywood speaks with solid authority. Haywood here seems closer to Aḥmad Amīn (1878-1954), a scholar and essayist, in his account of the Arab essay as "a short prose composition on one subject usually written in a planless method, but on its writer's own accord so as to display his individuality".(47) It is worth noting that Amin's resources were heavily English and he seems to have considerable knowledge of the background of the English essay. In his Literary Criticism, for instance, he devoted a significant part to Lamb, Hazlitt, Hunt, De Quincey, Macaulay, Carlyle as well as Coleridge and Wordsworth. As an essayist himself practising this art it would be useful to pause at his conception of the Arab essay and consider to what extent it has been exposed to the influence of English essayists.

He saw the essay as the most interesting form of literary prose, and that the typical essay is usually short. He stressed that its high prestige lies in that it is planless, but he did not mean

that planless essays are necessarily written in haste to keep up with the deadlines set by the literary editors. Such essays, in England, were practised by Samuel Johnson, Hazlitt, and De Quincey in order to comply with the ephemeral nature of journalism. It is more likely that Amīn was thinking of an essay written in a leisurely fashion without pressure and affectation or precise rules to be observed rigidly. He thought of the essay as a form that flows naturally with ease and simplicity. In line with this tendency, he described the essayist as being the most broad-minded writer and having unlimited freedom of style.(48) However, it is worthwhile to stress that he differs from other scholars who take the letter as another form of the essay remarking that a letter resembles the essay only in being short. Accordingly he denies that some letters of Jahiz were essays. He dubbed them as short pieces of history, biography, or merely studies. This point of view puts him at variance with such authors who wrote on essay-writing, as Abdul-Latif Hamza and Muhammad Yousif Najm among many others who regard Jāhiz's letters as the earliest form of the Arab essay.(49) Besides, it is noticeable that Amīn mentioned only the critical essay, that one may deduce that he might recognize it as the archetypal model of the genre regardless of his collected essays in Fayḍ al-Khāṭir which were diverse.

Muhammad Yousif Najm, on the other hand, contradicted himself when he admitted that there was no precise definition of the essay, but then concluded that "the essay is a prose piece with certain length and subject written hastily in an unaffected method. Its principal aim is to be a true expression of its writer's personality".(50) The aim behind examining these definitions of the Arab essay is to depict a clear-cut picture of this kind of literary writing, and eventually to underline the conclusion that the Arab essayists were considerably influenced by the English tradition of essay-writing and the individual style shaped by the English masters of the form. The Egyptian essayists, for example, indicated the great significance of the English achievement which is the best of its kind. ʿAqqād, a leading Egyptian essayist and a prominent member of what was codenamed "The English School" made it clear that:

> The art of essay in English nowadays, is perfect and well elaborated, with tremendous output and great number of essayists and readers. There, they have writers called "essayists" who practise no other form of writing save the essay in its modern model that had been developed after three centuries of improvment, concentration, and distinction between the essay-literature and other literary forms.(51)

By "modern model", he of course, means the English tradition as he was greatly impressed by Bacon and

and Hazlitt in particular. The modern essay as he depicts it, should be a kind of intimate discourse between a writer and his readers. It must express a personal experience and individual taste or judgement.

Nevertheless, ʿAqqād differentiates the "essay" from the "article" describing the latter as a chapter or a paragraph on a single subject. He added that the essays of Bacon, Hazlitt, Macaulay, Arnold and Sainte-Beuve, were not all true essays but some were nearer to the studies and letters.(52)

In an article published in al-Risāla Magazine, 2nd August, 1948, he went further to explain the difference between the terms: essay, sketch, treatise and study as practised by the leading English authors. He stressed the tentative nature of endeavour attempting these categories of literary writing. He, also, hinted at Montaigne's "essai" which means an attempt, and pointed out that the sketch falls short of being a complete picture. The achievements of ʿAqqād and Māzinī will be discussed later in this stury, but before that, one has to touch on the categories of the Arab essay and the development of its style. This is because ʿAqqād followed the tradition of the essay laid down by his predecessors who blended the Arabic tradition with the new form carried to them from the West.

Within this sphere we note that Arabic prose

has been influenced by European prose between the two world wars due to the bulk of translations from prose works. The translated essays consequently pentrated deep into the literary scene in Egypt and left their marks clearly on the Arab essay. Even those who did not speak English or French were effectively exposed to the essay form through translated works.

Rafiʿī furnishes a solid example of a brilliant essayist and stylist who managed successfully to form his own individual fluid and recognizable style. Although he argued that one can establish one's own style of essay-writing within the realm of Arabic language, he did not deny the influence of the European writers or that of his Arab contemporaries.

To weigh the pros and cons of the Arab familiar essay in the tradition of ʿAqqād, Māzinī, Rafiʿī and Zayyāt, one can look at it through its acknowledged categories. This approach will help establish a better understanding of the development of the Arab essay, concerning its scope, topics, and style. In addition it helps to display the extent of the English influence within this form, bearing in mind that the process of categorization was initiated by those English scholars and writers who discussed the English essay. Yet, one has to admit that due to the elastic nature of the essay, its types consequently

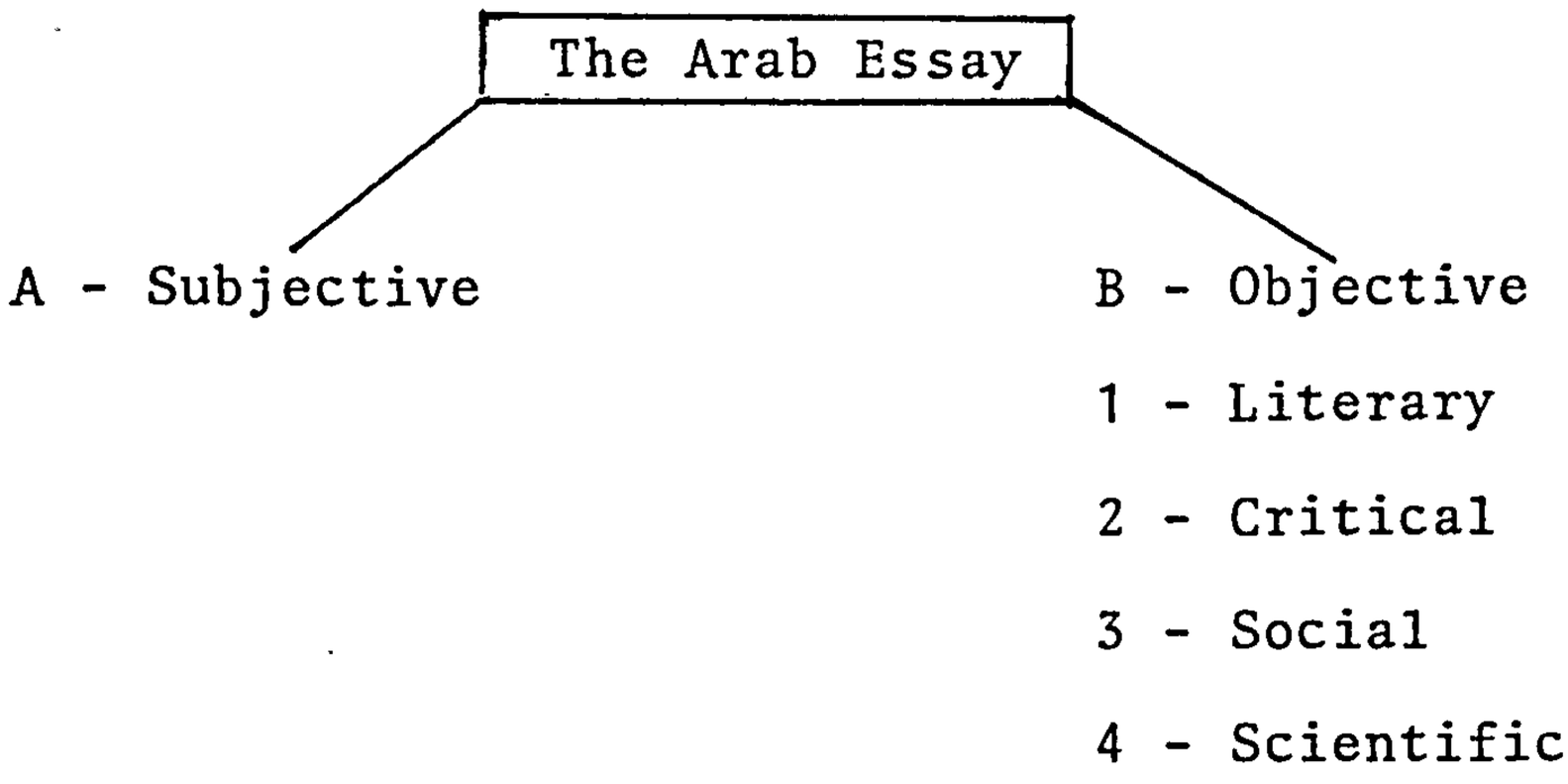
are interchangeable. Those who tended to pin down the major types of the Arab essay, for example, offered a list of its main topics rather than distinct categories. If their aim was to systematize the study of the essay, they caused a lot of confusion unintentionally.(53) They were, in fact, studying the essayist rather than the essay. And a study as such is no longer a study in prose but of the individual. In view of this fact, it will be more convincing to refrain from detailed information of the types of the essay. And to avoid such futile generalization, it seems to the point to touch on the solid categories that shelter the sphere of essay-writing in Arabic. The Arabic essay is roughly classified into two types namely 1. Subjective and 2. Objective.

The subjective essay, as its name suggests, focusses on the individuality of its writer recording his experiences, thoughts, taste, judgments, and points of view. The personal reminiscences handled in an essay form are encompassed by this type of which Lamb was the great exponent, while in Arabic literature, Mazini is generally acknowledged as a representative of this type of essay.

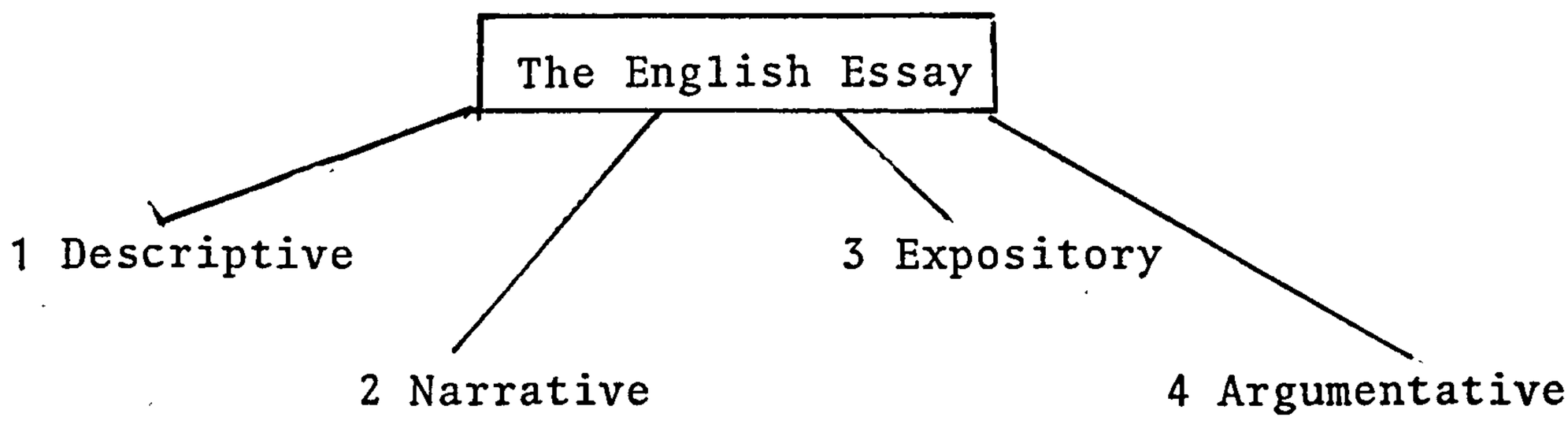
The other type "objective", is drawn from the general topics covered by the essay that express judgments and attitudes towards certain issues. The main categories of objective essay are:

1. Literary essay
2. Critical essay
3. Scientific essay
4. Social essay

or as shown in the following diagram:



In contrast to this, the English essay is generally encompassed by four categories:



A descriptive essay should depict in the mind of the reader a clear and accurate picture built up by a combination of narrative description, and an appropriate ordering of material.

The narrative essay relates a sequence of events, a function shared by the short story, that explains the prevalence of narration of events rather than

scenes. The use of the personal pronoun "I" is common as in autobiographical writings.

The aim of an expository essay is didactic, to spell out somethingabout the main aspects of a subject with an educational intention. The relation of the beginning, middle, and end of such essays should be coherent and logical.

As for the argumentative essay, one can say that it deals with one or more arguments in a persuasive style. It usually starts with the opponent's view, showing up its faults, then deploying the writer's own argument in an effective way. This type is marked by clarity, reason and expressiveness.(54)

From these categories, it is noticeable that the English denomination indicates the style, whereas the Arabic classification is drawn from the topics of the essay rather than its familiar style. Accordingly the term "descriptive" could apply to literary, social or scientific subjects. In this study the main aim is to throw light on the essay and its individual style rather than focus on its names since the function of categorization is meant to help students understand the nature of the essay. Style.

There are a number of important similarities between the English and the Arab essay. They even reveal themselves in the most individual methods

practised by the Arab writers. But this phenomenon does not imply any kind of direct imitation or plagiarism. It is more a matter of Arab writers utilizing the achievements of the English essayists both in their styles and in their close association with journalism.

However, one has to bear in mind that, as far as journalism is concerned, the Arabic essay was, to a very large extent, influenced by the journalistic nature of the English essay. The process of developing one's own style, consequently combined with a great desire among individual writers to modernize the style of essay-writing so as to attune it with the flourishing Arab journalism as it is the most influential medium of social communication. This reveals itself in the following points at which the Arabic essay converges with the English:

1. Form and style
2. Moral writing
3. Short story element
4. Addressing the common man
5. Individual approach
6. Personal reminiscences
7. Lyrical element
8. Satirical method
9. The use of proverbs, poetry and balanced phrases
10. Method of dialogue
11. Hard-hitting prose
12. Journalistic nature

Examples of these features can be given from the essays of the leading Arab essayists like Māzinī, Zayyāt, Rafi^{c}ī. These writers and some others were very keen to enhance the role of the press by serious

literary writings. They were also aware of the importance of effective style in addressing readers. Accordingly, the distinction between "journalistic prose" and "literary prose" displays awareness of the needs of the daily press and literary journalism. Within this field, one can frequently come across essays written on style or the importance of sustaining standard Arabic. Ṭāha Hussain, a brilliant writer and essayist explained this tendency:

> The majority of readers are very anxious to acquire two things: first; eloquent prose handled in correct language and polished style devoid from trites and rhetorical shackles. Secondly, this prose must be relevant to the modern tastes of readership, rich and fluid in words and meaning.(55)

But Zayyāt was more outspoken in his appeal to maintain the standards of traditional literary language:

> Our writers, nowadays, are ignorant of Arabic language but they speak European languages and read foreign literatures. They, like modern Egyptian society, neglect the Arabic literature and history, yielding to the output of European presses.(56)

This outcry puts in our mind a similar one from Swift:

> My Lord, I do here, in the name of all the learned and polite persons of nation, complain to Your Lordship, First Minister, that our language is extremely imperfect: that it's daily improvements are by no means in proportion to its daily corruptions; that the pretenders to polish and refine it have chiefly multiplied abuses and absurdities; and that in many instances it offends against every part of grammar.(57)

These appeals and many others underline the amount of concern shown by the Egyptian writers and literary journalists to establish the Arabic language as a medium of culture on an artistic level. The role of literary journalism, in fact, was tremendous in a nation whose masters spoke different languages which were imposed on all levels.(58)

But the spread of European and English criticism accelerated the process of reviving the style of the essay as well as the press. In this regard it is worth noticing that this process faced a big hurdle represented by the rhymed prose which is a major characteristic of the Arab language although it does not suit modern journalism. So any attempt to develop a new style on the part of writers, had to overcome this obstacle vigorously since "The history of rhymed prose is the history of the Arabic literature. It was the earliest, and has been the most enduring form of poetical eloquence".(59)

This remark by Chenery, in fact, is cleverly spelt out if we bear in mind that until the Second

World War, some writers and journalists in Egypt, were advocating the use of rhymed prose. Māzinī and Zayyāt were among the outstanding essayists who preserved the use of rhymed prose despite their deep knowledge of Western cultural currents. The struggle between the "traditionalists" and "modernist" was largely a struggle between the essayists who showed different responses to Westernization. However, one has to affirm that both exponents were not satisfied with the inherited prose-style which asserted its presence in the press as well as other forms of writing. ʿAqqād described the prose handed to them from the 19th century in one of his essays written on style:

> It was a prose that sustained its rhymes and phrases, used by every pen in every subject. Then it became a rhymed prose (Sajʿ) with minor innovations created by the writer but within the traditional frame. Soon after, it turned to be ornate and polished but without rhymes or trites. Later styles varied in form and content according to the individual writers and journalists when the impact of freedom in writing became apparent.(60)

ʿAqqād, here is summarizing the development of Arabic prose since the second half of the last century. Dusūqī seems more illustrative in shedding light on the press-language:

> (The essayist) did not find in the journalistic style what suits their literary tastes or stand the test of good literature because of its commonplaceness, obscurity, vulgarity and grammatical abuses. It is lacking polish, imagination, and charm because its authors do not write it leisurely as the men of letters do. The journalist blackens his pages hastily in compliance with the transient nature of the press knowing that such writings will be tossed away soon, as they treat a temporary subject, political or social.(61)

Dusūqī, here, is raising an issue that occupied Egyptian journalism for a long time: that of establishing a new tradition of journalistic prose. The battle was won by the "modernists" who fought to the best of their abilities to use the rise of modern journalism to serve their purpose in forming a new style of prose attuned to the new requirements. Their hard struggle resulted in creating what has been described as "journalistic prose". It is simple, plain, and clear so as to address an audience of different levels of education among whom are both the specialized and the tiro. This prose aims at clarity to save time for readers who cannot afford to wade through rich diction, serious imagination, and aesthetic prose. The journalistic style as such is informative in treating events or news stories and devoid of scientific or logical deduction. In short it is closer to reportage than to research as it is meant to be published in transient publications.(62) But this tendency could backfire if the journalists went

further by lowering their standards to the level of the layman. However, as far as literary journalism is concerned, the situation, until the end of the first half of this century, was not desperate. It seemed that the essayists, in particular, were fully aware of the importance of sustaining the standards of literary style if an effective, entertaining and instructive journalism was to be achieved. They, in fact, showed great concern with polished and well-elaborated style to the extent of being accused of preferring style to content. It is this concern that led Gibb to say that "the majority of Arab essayists are moreconcerned with content than with form" (63) Yet, on the other hand, one may say that it is also this concern with elaborated style that won Manfaluti, for instance, the acknowledgment of scholars like Haywood who said of his essays:

> These essays are as superb a display of classical Arabic prose-writing as will be found in the whole of modern literature .... His essay themes run the whole gamut of current ethical and social problems.(64)

In their long search for a journalistic language, the Egyptian essayists showed great efforts to keep in touch with modern theories of style. Their way of thinking has been radically changed since the First World War, and accordingly, the style of writing

has to be modified to match the movement of time. In view of this fact, the study of style came to be a primary subject taught in the Egyptian schools and universities, and several books were written on this subject. Regarding the essay, mention is due to the merited book, Style (1939), by Aḥmad al-Shāyib. He examined the essays of ʿAqqād, Māzinī, and Ahmad Amīn and concluded that the Arabic essay should have a plan:

> The plan of the essay is its abstract style concerning classification and coherence of points in order to secure a logical sequence up to the conclusion. This plan is based on: introduction, exposition, and conclusion.... The general characteristic of the essay style is its plainness and aesthetic expression.(65)

The author set himself to examine the various aspects of style, but as far as the essay is concerned, he showed an awareness of the English essay and its familiar style. And in this quotation he stresses the importance of the plan in the essay in order to accommodate thoughts and points in persuasive sequence.

In addition to the scholars, the essayists for their part, discussed the issue of style in their writings, a habit practised by Johnson, Hazlitt, and De Quincey. To achieve maximum benefit, they kept their contacts with English literature and journalism at a high level. This tendency is well represented

by two leading exponents of Arab literary journalism, namely ʿAqqād and Māzinī who will be the subject of the following pages because of their distinguished role in this process.

CHAPTER FIVE

AQQĀD AND MĀZINĪ

- Their English background

- Their achievements in the sphere of Arab journalism and the essay

ʿAqqād and Māzinī

In spite of their many interesting poems, the genius of al-Māzinī and al-ʿAqqād reveals itself more clearly and convincingly in the sphere of prose.

M.M. Badawi

The effect of English literature has been clearly noticeable in the works of its two leading exponents in Egypt; al-ʿAqqād and al-Māzinī. Both of them belong to what was codenamed "The Saxon or English School" in contrast to what was referred to as the "Latin School" represented by al-Zayyāt and Ṭāha Hussain.

In their twenties, both ʿAqqād and Māzinī found their way to the profession of journalism and depended on the press for bread and butter. In the offices of Al-Dustūr and al-Balāgh papers, they established a unique friendship which was disrupted only by the death of Māzinī in 1949 after a joint literary career and close relationship. Their views on poetry, criticism, and literature were almost identical as they were using the same sources, attending the same literary circles and trading the outcome of their readings in English. This unique friendship reminds one of Lamb and Hazlitt who, as G.D. Klingopulos said, "are fated always to be paired in literary history, as "essayists". Hazlitt is much the more important figure, and the more gifted the better equipped".(1) This categorisation is no less true of ʿAqqād, the Arab Hazlitt as it were, and Māzinī

who seems closer to Lamb and his tradition of essay-writing, despite his admiration for Hazlitt. This fact raises the question of individuality which characterizes Romantic writings and the essay in particular, regardless of close personal relations or their sheltering within one movement.

Nevertheless, dealing with ʿAqqād and Māzinī in one chapter seems relevant because their intimate friendship left its trace clearly on their writings and on various aspects of literary journalism in Egypt. Besides the interchange in their references to each other makes it more justifiable to put them in one basket, when dealing with the development of the Arabic essay. But this approach does not deny the fact that each of the two did his best to form his individual style on his own accord quite as much as the English Romantics did. And it must be remembered that the English models affected the Arab authors to different extents as the latters were, after all, eclectic in their literary tastes and models.

Al-ʿAqqād

Although ʿAqqād was a distinguished Romantic poet, his fame as a critic and prose writer excelled his reputation as a poet. His association with the "Diwān Group" has been touched on previously, but his close link with journalism calls for our attention here. His interest in journalism goes back to his earlier years of education when he used to edit a

"school bulletin" al-Tilmīth (The Student) and distribute it among his friends; in imitation of ʿAbdulla al-Nadīm's paper al-ʾUstāth which means "the teacher". When he was eighteen, he began publishing articles, poems, and essays in the leading papers of his time. His first collection of essays appeared in Khulāṣat al- Yaumiyya in 1912. In this book he displayed the influence of Hazlitt on him particularly in his argument on the unity of the poem. Forever after this he tried hard to consolidate his position as a professional journalist and maintain his literary merit as a poet and critic as well. Egyptian journalism at that time was educational; carrying more instructive essays and translations than reports or international news. In this type of journalism, ʿAqqād found a suitable vehicle to express himself and put on paper what he was feeling since he was ten:

> My association with journalism - or more precisely with writing - was enhanced by words of encouragement, proper circumstances, and the hidden interest since my childhood - not my youth - for I felt the love for writing since I was ten. This interest was never consumated until I put it into practice consistently as a life project.(2)

ʿAqqād recalled that his interest in journalism had been stimulated by reading some issues of al-ʾUstāth, al-Taʾif, and al-Muqtaṭaf which were available in his father's library. Then he threw more light on his link with the press by remarking:

> My relation with the press was like that of writers contributing from their homes. I had been writing for al-Jarida, and even before that to al-Zāhir, al-Muayyad, and al- Liwa in which my first poem appeared.(3)

Quoting ʿAqqād talking about his earlier journalistic career might help a better understanding of his achievements in the sphere of literary journalism and his leading role in forming a modern journalistic style. Besides, ʿAqqād was an ideal Arab journalist who applied his literary background and approached the profession from its serious side. This aspect of ʿAqqād reveals itself in his essays and articles which were embraced by the rise of the press in Egypt at the beginning of this century. The Arabic essay, indeed, owes much of its plain language and style to the press as has been indicated before. But ʿAqqād's intensive readings in English had a tremendous impact on his essays. Accordingly, a clear-cut image of his essays cannot be offered without pausing for a while at his keen interest in English culture and literature.

English Background

Apart from his knowledge of English gained at school, ʿAqqād was very keen to master the English language as an effective medium of communication between East and West. And as has been pointed out before, English was used at all levels in Egypt and among the famous text books used was Palgrave's well-known

anthology, "The Golden Treasury". This book in particular, according to Muhammad Mandūr was widely used and even imitated by the Diwān Group.(4) The first edition of this anthology appeared in London in 1861 and was still very much alive in the Arab East. But ʿAqqād's thirst for reading English writings was limitless and he spared no effort to acquire books on English literature and philosophy. He recalled that his first acquaintance with such books was through European travellers and tourists coming to Alexandria and Aswan and they would exchange addresses and establish cultural relations by sending books as presents. One English friend sent him Carlyle's book, The French Revolution (1837) and an English translation of the Koran.(5) Aqqad acquired a massive library through his regular purchase from the Anglo-Egyptian Bookshop in Cairo to the end of his life. This was in the first decade of this century, but as the years moved on, ʿAqqād managed to establish his name among the elite exponents of English literature. This aspect of his work is illustrated by his three books on Francis Bacon, Shakespeare, and Bernard Shaw as well as many lengthy essays and studies of other prominent English authors. He even went farther to express his admiration of the English people who produced such a rich cultural output:

> Do you know on this planet any nation in modern ages, more efficient in understanding reality and sustaining practical thinking than the English nation? Is there any neighbouring or competent nation that excelled them

> in poetry, or produced half of their genius poets?(6)

Pictures of European authors were hung on the walls of his library. But his main concern was with the Romantic poets and writers of England who exerted tremendous influence on him and his contemporaries in the sphere of criticism and literary journalism:

> ʿAqqād was addicted to reading Carlyle, Macaulay, Hazlitt, Leigh Hunt, Arnold and other leading essayists of the 19th century. He used to translate what was suitable for the Egyptian press, and write on this line essays on Arab and foreign writers. As for poetry, he went deep in reading Byron, Shelley, Keats, Coleridge and other outstanding Romantic poets. He was greatly admiring Palgrave's The Golden Treasury, of which he and his two colleagues Māzinī and Shukrī, learnt the arts of Western poetry. Later they blended these arts with modern Arabic poetry.(7)

But it was Hazlitt who influenced ʿAqqād far more than any of the English Romanticists. ʿAqqād himself described Hazlitt as the leader of their school of thought in Egypt. It seems that ʿAqqād was possessed by the charming personality of Hazlitt, in his biting criticism which suited ʿAqqād's temperament as seen from his writing, politicizing literature, and supposedly, in his life-style. Hazlitt's marriage, for example, to Sarah Stoddart which ended in divorce, and his hope of marrying Sarah Walker, the daughter of his landlord had a shattering impact on his life.(8)

ʿAqqād on the other hand, was in love with a girl whom he nicknamed Sarah, and was unsuccessful in his efforts to marry her. To honour her memory, he wrote his novel Sarah (1938) which might be inspired by Hazlitt's "Liber Amoris", a love story in the form of dialogue between him and his Sarah. This phenomenon is emphasised by the fact that ʿAqqād converges with Hazlitt in their views on woman. Hazlitt in "On the Disadvantages of Intellectual Superiority" said:

> I do not think great intellectual attainments are any recommendation to the women. They puzzle them, and are a diversion to the main question. If scholars talk to ladies of what they understand, their hearers are none the wiser: if they talk of other things, they only prove themselves fools .... It has been remarked that poets do not choose mistresses very wisely.(9)

And ʿAqqād said:

> The natural and spiritual superiority must have tangible characteristics in reality, arts, or sciences. In all these fields there is no sign of woman's superiority to man through creative nature, sublime spirit, and sound reason.(10)

This point would not seem out of place if we bear in mind that the question of women's position in modern society at the beginning of this century, was very much alive in the Arab world. It occupied the minds of poets, writers, and social reformers.

Besides, ʿAqqād carried his views on woman in his criticism and essays holding that women poets are passive by the very fact of their womanhood and could only excel in the poetry of sorrows and lamentations.

Accordingly he denied the authenticity of the poetry attributed to the Egyptian poetess ʿAʾisha al- Taymūriyya (d.1902).

Their unsuccessful experiences in love and marriage might explain both Hazlitt and ʿAqqād's aggressiveness, subjectivity and radicality. Coleridge described Hazlitt once as "brow-hanging, shoe-contemplative, strange",(11) which are true of Aqqad as well. But it was Hazlitt's criticism that influenced ʿAqqād most deeply. ʿAqqād's series of essays on poetry in Egypt in his al-Shiʿr Fī Miṣr (1927) and Shuʿaraʾ Misr, revealed the extent to which Aqqad had gone in adopting Hazlitt's criticism of poetry in "On Poetry in General" in particular. Indeed, ʿAqqād and his colleagues in the Diwan Group regarded Hazlitt as their leader and described him as the greatest European critic. Hazlitt, in "On Poetry in General" says:

> There is no thought or feeling that can have entered into the mind of man, which he would be eager to communicate to others or which they would listen to with delight, that is not fair subject of poetry. It is not a branch of authorship: it is "the stuff of which our life is made".

ʿAqqād wants poetry to be genuine and reflect a poet's spontaneous reaction to things saying that:

> Imagination in poetry, was not a licence to untruths or to illogical conceptions. The expression of emotion is not achieved by the portrayal of extreme tenderness and effeminate feelings, of tears, sighs, sorrows, lamentations and misery.

In ʿAbir Sabīl (The Wayfarer) ʿAqqād attempts a theory in the introduction and declares:

> all that we clothe our feelings and engulf in our imagination, and penetrate with our consciousness, and imbue with our worries, dreams and fears is poetry and a subject for poetry, because it is life and a subject for life .... The wayfarer therefore sees poetry, if he wishes, everywhere...he sees it in the house he lives in, and in the street he walks in every day, in the shop windows, in the car...because all these are linked with daily life and everything which is linked with human life is entangled in our feelings and is therefore fit to be expressed (in poetry).(12)

Within this context, it is worth noting that Aqqad translated some works of John Locke (1632-1704) and David Hume (1711-1776), and he - like Hazlitt - was impressed by Locke's theory of knowledge which says that ideas proceeded from sensations and we know mind only through matter. And it is obvious that Hazlitt was "an empiricist in the tradition of John Locke,(13) which helped him formalize his theory on Romantic exploration of the psychology of the imagination:

> In art, in taste, in life, in speech, you decide from feeling, and not from reason; that is from the impression of a number of things on the mind, which impression is true and well-founded,

> though you may not be able to analyse or account for it in the several particulars.(14)

ʿAqqād interpreted this into his call to poets to go deeply into the essence of things and look within themselves to seek inspiration since poetry in his opinion, is built on a stream of feelings and thoughts. ʿAqqād here, seems to stress the personal note in poetry, a very Romantic aspect expressed through the "fluid process by which the mind fuses direct concrete experiences.(15)

ʿAqqād's importance lies in his constant efforts to bring into focus what he had learnt from English literature and philosophy, applying Western canons of criticism to the Arab classical and Neo-classical poets alike. His writings, indeed, remain very important despite his subjectivity and aggressiveness.

The aim of this study is not to give a detailed account of ʿAqqād's achievements in criticism rather it is to offer a clear image of his keen interest and borrowings from English writers and what effect these borrowings had on him. And since his prose writings and literary journalism are at issue here, it would be well to point to certain characteristics which, in turn, illuminate the influence of Hazlitt and other English authors on him. A close look at his journalistic essays and articles indicates the following peculiarities which are very much Hazlittese:

* Politicizing literature.
* Subjectivity and independence in criticism.
* Slashing style and aggressiveness towards leading contemporaries.
* Applying psychology with a note of pessimism.
* Clear influence of English philosophy (John Locke - David Hume).
* Dependence on journalism - writing reviews, summaries and art criticism.
* Influence of Shakespeare.
* Prolific writing - Hazlitt wrote twenty one volumes and Aqqad wrote more than seventy books.
* The development of the essay into a study marked with seriousness.
* Concern with language and the grand style.

But to be even handed, one has to stress that despite these confluences, ʿAqqād was not merely imitative. He was, in fact, creative, absorbing his thorough reading in a sort of indirect interpretation in the way F.R. Leavis described the borrowings of T.S. Eliot from the French symbolist poet Jule Laforge in Leavis' authoritative study, New Bearings in English Poetry.(16) Yet, ʿAqqād's search for modernity and his deep love for English literature reveal themselves in his writing in a way that leaves the impression of direct borrowing. This is partly true, but by and large, ʿAqqād has a distinguished

talent capable of creation and recreation. Like Hazlitt, ʿAqqād quarrelled with all his contemporaries and attacked the dead and the living except Māzinī, a habit that, in itself, suggests a high level of independent thinking. In his advocation of new standards of poetic evaluacy he did not refrain from harsh and violent expressions aimed at "destroying the overwhelming illusions and involved intrigues which existed in our literary word",(17) and he needed violence to prove his argument.

ʿAqqād's Essays

After decades of serious readings in English literature, and the Arab literary tradition, ʿAqqād tried hard to fuse these two streams into a meaningful confluence shaped and polished by the rise of modern literary journalism in Egypt. This merging of traditions displayed itself in ʿAqqād's essays and studies which provided ample examples of modern Arab scientific prose. Yaʿcūb Ṣarrūf was a leading exponent of scientific prose who paved the way for ʿAqqād. This scientific prose (al-Nathr al-ʾilmī) is marked by plain, precise, and straightforward language devoid of excessive use of rhetorical devices. It was used in the daily press and specialized magazines to introduce scientific topics, reviews, new books and discoveries in a clear and simplified well-organized form attuned to the different levels of readership. It was the result of ʿAqqād's readings in Locke, Hume, Bacon,

Aldous Huxley, and other scholars. Being a professional journalist and literary writer, he tended to adopt a style that encompasses the two aspects mentioned, in a prose which was artistic as much as scientific. It must be noted that ʿAqqād acquired a thorough knowledge of Arabic language and heritage, a merit which helped him write in lucid and a well-elaborated style. It is clear that he was well acquainted with serious journalism that informs, instructs, and entertains. Writing of this kind comes under the category of "higher journalism" whose "language is modern and syntactically straightforward, yet fairly rich, with a feeling for fine style."(18)

Yet it is worth mentioning that ʿAqqād's achievements in establishing his individual style was not a sudden leap, but a consistent process of collaboration between tradition and modernity. This phenomenon indicates that he was not cut off from the traditional journalistic style of al-Muayliḥī and al-Manfalūṭī. The use of maqāma in journalism seemed to him at hand at least for use as a tour de force. He recalled that he used to attend Aḥmad al-Jaddāwī seminars where maqamat were recited and, during his childhood, he was possessed by the unique talent of al-Jaddāwī and listened to him attentively.(19) In 1913 ʿAqqād wrote one maqama and published it in al-Bayān magazine under the title "Muthakkirāt Iblīs" (The Devil's Memoirs). In this assembly he used rhymed sentences and other figures of speech generally

used by earlier assembly writers:

> The Devil said: I was walking in some of Cairo's quarters, burdened with thinking. My mind was heavily busied in engineering an infernal trap to engulf leaders of the world in a sea of crises and deadly war. While walking in a street of nice villas and places occupied by the powerful rich and tycoons, my eye caught sight of a window in a round house. A young beautiful lady was leaning out with fine, showy, white dress as if woven from the froth of water and threads of light...(20)

ʿAqqād in this maqāma predicted the outbreak of the First World War which would have been inflamed by wicked powers that tempted world leaders. The short story element, narrative style and figurative language are largely used in "Muthakkirāt Iblīs" as in any other maqama. But ʿAqqād was a staunch modernist and clever enough to deduce that maqāma style was no longer applicable in the wake of rising journalism with its mass circulation and diverse readership. Soon he became much more convinced that Bacon, Johnson, and Hazlitt offered a far more suitable genre than the assemblies. It was their essays that seemed to him largely usable in the columns of journalism. The English essay had been already used widely by the English press organs and proved quite in accord with the needs of modern journalism.

ʿAqqād and Bacon

ʿAqqād's deep interest in Bacon arises from the

latter's importance in the development of scientific analysis and his experimental method. Bacon's ability to describe new methods of study and define the scope of various sciences, held ʿAqqād's attention and drove him into thorough readings in Bacon's work. En route, ʿAqqād discovered that Bacon's reputation lies with his essays as much as his scientific method. Accordingly, he set himself to pause long on these two aspects of Bacon and utilize them to the best of his abilities. His interest in Bacon was long lasting as seen in his famous book, Francis Bacon 1945, in which ʿAqqād put his image of Bacon, together with twenty five essays and several quotations from Bacon's A Collection of Apothegms, all translated in grand style. Before this book, Bacon was known in the Arab world as a thinker, philosopher, and writer on science. But ever since the launching of ʿAqqād's book, the Baconian tradition of essay-writing has occupied a central place. To enhance this process, Aqqad published several essays on the essay and examined the Baconian style by which he was greatly influenced. In his discussion, he was aware of the development of prose writing in England and the forerunners of the English essay. This awareness let him stress Bacon's individuality and serious approach in contrast with Montaigne's tradition. It is noticeable that ʿAqqād put Montaigne and Bacon on equal footing denying any kind of direct copying

of the French invention by Bacon. It leads one to suppose that ʿAqqād was aware that Bacon was fully conversant of the "character" and pamphlet, the two antecedents of the English essay. In his comparison between Montaigne and Bacon, he showed clever objectivity:

> Montaigne's pen is fluid, he writes at ease on various subjects. He has several personal characteristics and his style is close to the style of modern essaysits. But Bacon - as usual - is closer to economy in words and concentration. His style is rich with deep thinking, diverting from personal touches and individual characteristics that reveal his personality and its human aspects.(21)

His views on Bacon look very much closer to

Alexander Smith's (1830-1867):

> Montaigne and Bacon are our earliest and greatest essayists, and likeness and unlikeness exist between the men. Bacon was constitutionally the graver nature. He writes like one on whom presses the weight of affairs, and he approaches a subject always on its serious side.... He lives amongst great ideas, as with great nobles, with whom he dare not be too familiar.... Montaigne was different from all this. His table of contents reads in comparison like a medley, or a catalogue of an auction. When he began to write his essays he had no great desire to shine as an author; he wrote simply to relieve teeming heart and brain.(22)

Yet there is no evidence that suggests any kind of direct copying from Alexander Smith, bearing in mind that Smith was not the first to put his finger

on such likeness and unlikeness, although he was the best who wrote on the essay. Furthermore, ʿAqqād was Baconian in thinking and essay-writing. This is apparent from the ideas he launched in his book on Bacon as well as his other essays and studies. His efforts to pin down the limits of Bacon's essays show both fine scholarship and admiration of Bacon. To give the highlights of the Baconian essay, in ʿAqqād's opinion, would illuminate his knowledge of Bacon and aid the development of ʿAqqād's individual style.

ʿAqqād thought that Bacon's essays, at their earlier stage, were diverse short prose writings that dealt with various aspects of a subject under separate titles. They were written with economy of words, overlooking details and illustrations as if written for himself.

At the second stage his essays tended to fluidity and ease after a period of abbreviation and allusions. Bacon's essays at this time, were clothed with vivid, artistic prose enriched with similies and a touch of humour.

This tendency towards abundance and profusion in writing, shows Bacon's desire to abandon aphorism and the short witty epigrams he used to clinch his ideas.

At last Bacon emerged with a polished style, rich in rhetorical devices and creative imagination, a process that enabled him to establish himself

firmly as a fascinating essayist.(23)

ʿAqqād explains this change in style by indicating that Bacon underestimated the essay as a literary genre and approached its tradition with some reservations. Even before that, Bacon was writing some chapters or monographs in a well-elaborated style similar to that of his late essays. But after the rise of the essay and establishing it as a literary entity, Bacon showed more seriousness and care in writing essays. He even expressed his joy at their popularity that added lustre to his fame. ʿAqqād saw this development in style as natural and did not attribute the change to the difference between one's youth and manhood. He pointed out that Bacon's readers contributed to the process of shaping his individual tradition of essay-writing by their encouragement and keen interest. As a result Bacon brilliantly refined his essays by distancing them from the ordinary speech and humour and enhanced them to the rank of sublime poetry. Accordingly, his prose consisted of the best words in the best order as if produced by an outstanding poet.

Having closely examined Bacon's achievement in the English essay, ʿAqqād eventually fell under his spell and his method of approaching the essay on its serious side. This approach, indeed, forms the cornerstone of ʿAqqād's style as we shall see later. But he was an expert reader and kept his

momentum in deriving his literary and critical views from continuous reading in the English Romanticists and Arnold, Macaulay and Carlyle and others. He advocated wide reading and even justified borrowings from other writers in other languages. His writing indicates the influence he was exposed to and the borrowing he made as an active modernist. In an essay "On Styles" published in al-Balāgh. ʿAqqād said:

> It must be remembered that we live now in the age of "humanity" in which everyone has a share, particularly the writings that appeared in languages. We do not reckon that the world of speech and writing is separated from life itself which is the product of all nations in all ages.(24)

By this statement, ʿAqqād joins Māzinī who was the master borrower from English Literature and poetry. But ʿAqqād was clever enough to blend several ingredients in order to produce a unique structure that would stand the test of creativity.

His individual technique unfolds itself in his prolific writings and contributions to the press in the form of reviews, essays, studies, and literary criticism.

Here it is worth mentioning that the form of essay, in ʿAqqād's opinion, is flexible enough to encompass his critical writings, studies and the various types of reviews. One of his early established books Reviews in Literature and Arts (1925), was, in

fact, a collection of familiar essays contributed to al-Balāgh and al-Bayān magazines in the first and second decades of this century. The collection includes maqāma, essays, reviews, memoirs, short studies and criticism. All these forms are covered by the title "Reviews" of which he said:

> In this collection, there are various essays published in al-Balagh on Mondays, and in other magazines or papers. I gave it the title: Reviews in Literature and Arts because it is a digress research on diverse subjects in literatures, arts and related topics. Besides, the review is my individual method of writing on such areas in general.(25)

This remark might be a tacit reference to Hazlitt's: "I intend these essays as studies of human nature", if we accept the thesis that Aqqad developed the modern Arabic essay into a serious critical study. The elastic nature of the essay is quite helpful in this process of adaptation. ʿAqqād, on the other hand, needed to accommodate his philosophical writings in a literary form of journalistic character. The essay seemed to him more attractive than other forms, partly because of its journalistic tradition and suitability to modern requirements and the change in readership.

In view of the popularity of ʿAqqād's style in his journalistic articles and essays, it would be useful to touch on his method of writing for the press in a way that sustained his literary merit. In evidence of

this fact, all his contributions to the press were published in book form and this book is still in demand. This reminds one that the familiar essays, criticism, and miscellaneous prose of Lamb, Hazlitt, Southey, and De Quincey were chiefly written for the magazines and secured public applause.(26) ʿAqqād's awareness of the serious function of higher journalism led his prose to rise above the contrivance of deliberate rhetoric and established him as a remarkable journalist. His personal experience in journalism, therefore, may shed light on the structure of literary journalism in Egypt.

ʿAqqād remarked that he used to write his essays as suggested to him by literary editors, and this way seemed favourable to him. The editor, he says, is entitled to suggest the subject of an article or essay or even its title, because of his consistent contacts with his readers and their needs.(27) This practice by the literary editor could avoid repetition of subjects and cope with the ephemeral nature of the press, and could help the writer himself to choose the appropriate subject. The essay, in turn, can cover diverse forms of short prose writings of a journalistic character. To illustrate this point ʿAqqād said:

> The literary essays were not short of subjects or occasions. In this, they were not fewer than the political articles of the daily press and its weekly supplements.

> The week was not to end without a book reviewed, poetry criticised, or an event concerning a famous European writer who deserves writing on him or his literary career, or a discussion of his school of thought or art and the like.(28)

Yet, despite this transient nature of the press, ʿAqqād was not a hack writer, but rather a temperamental one of Hazlittese nature. He showed a brilliant mastery of language and seriousness in his essays and reviews. There is no doubt that he was genuine in saying:

> As for my method of writing, I used to start an essay whose sources and points are all logically arranged in my mind. But as I set in writing, some hints, and notes might spring to my mind without crucial effect on the bulk of the essay. These notes are marginal and could be used to simplify certain aspects or add a touch of humour.... In discussion, my plan is to engage the strongest argument and refute it firmly, followed by the weakest.(29)

The aim of quoting ʿAqqād speaking about his method in writing essays and articles, is to take the facts "from the horse's mouth" which is a practice upheld by the English stylists as well as Arab ones. Not only the plan of the essay held ʿAqqād's attention, but its style as well. In several articles and studies, he set himself to attack those who breach the standards of language and the aesthetics of style. As a modernist greatly influenced he took the initiative to defend the "European style", as he put it, which had been exposed to sharp criticism from the traditionalists.

The target behind this campaign was the abuse of style committed by some unexperienced translators who failed to convey the aesthetic characteristics of English and French. Some translations appeared in the press in shaky language and a loose style. The sin, of course, is that of the translator and not the original writer. In response to this fuss in literary circles and press organs, Aqqad launched his own campaign relying on the argument that the grand style is the objective of any serious writer whatever language he speaks. As far as the European languages are concerned, ʿAqqād argued that the Europeans criticise weakness of style, the abuse of grammatical rules and do their best to avoid blunders of usage in the same manner as Arabs do.(30) He put the blame on the Arab critics who do not know European languages and weigh works against Arab models. He took the point further in remarking that the European writers are more careful than the Arabs in the logical sequence of subjects and connection of meanings. He touched on linguistic issues related to style both in English and Arabic of transition and connection in De Quincey's essay on "Style" which would support his argument.(31) However, he cleverly discussed the beauties of a style that accommodates grand thoughts and vivid pictures. He believed that "rules will never make either a work or a discourse eloquent; they only serve to prevent faults, but not to introduce beauties", as Goldsmith remarked. ʿAqqād says that there is no way

to separate the writer from his style because they form a coherent whole and style is essentially a quality showing the very personality of the writer. This is, in fact, an explanation of Buffon's words: "Style is the man himself". Hence one may suppose that ʿAqqād's admiration of Hazlitt was a result of the latter's individual style.

Having paused at ʿAqqād's cultural background, his association with journalism, his contribution to modern Arabic literature, one may reach the conclusion that this professional journalist became one of the leading Arab writers. In achieving this, he was aided by long life marked with good health, single-minded, and a readiness to fight for his beliefs. In short, ʿAqqād was dedicated to literature and journalism. His contributions to the press, therefore, had had a tremendous impact on the development of the essay, let alone the fact that he was the first to introduce the "interview" to the Arab press.

By writing in grand Arabic on philosophical subjects, he widened the horizon of both language and journalism. He skillfully succeeded in forming his own style on a firm basis, marked with persuasiveness, strong argument, precise meanings and a logical plan, all handled with meaningful seriousness. Even when he treats light witty subjects, he elevates his language and thoughts to dignified standards thanks to his attachment to philosophy.

He clothes his ideas in fine, lucid, and lofty prose. With him the serious critical essay reached its acme and literary journalism was honoured and respected.

Casting a look at the wide subjects he chose, one can see the broad scope of his experience and the magnitude of his achievement in Arabic literature and journalism.

In the realm of Arabic literary journalism ʿAqqād figures as the greatest exponent of the objective essay whereas Māzinī represents the subjective essay at its best.

Al-Māzinī

Apart from his association with the English or Saxon school of writers in Egypt, Mazini belongs to the school of journalism that appeared between the British Occupation in 1881 and the beginning of the Second World War. This period saw a group of enlightened journalists aiming at a greater modernization and adoption of European concepts in literature, criticism and journalism. They intended to achieve this modernization without losing the national identity of Egypt. In keeping with their ambitions and objectives, they were closely associated with the contemporary currents in Europe and England in particular because English offered them access to European authors and movements. Like ʿAqqād, Māzinī showed unbounded desires to study the English language and its literature from early

childhood. He recalled that by the time he left school, he had acquired a considerable knowledge of the most famous books in Arabic and English, and had come to know most of the European poets as well as establishing his own library. His fondness of English led him to admire its outstanding authors and also the English people themselves:

> The English people excelled in poetry in a matchless way due to their will and passion.... Poetry to them is the feeling one reveals to himself in tranquility, depicted by the very image that one sees himself through.(32)

Māzinī illustrated his fondness for English literature in a funny anecdote about his wedding. He remarked that while friends of the family were celebrating his wedding party, he stole away to his private library leaving his bride and the attendants at a loss until they discovered him among a bundle of books of Hazlitt, Thackeray, Macaulay and Wordsworth.(33) This ardent interest in the English Romanticism had been stimulated and intensified by his close friendship with Shukri and later with ʿAqqād. Shukrī, as has been mentioned, came into touch with the Romantic Movement during his reading in English literature in Sheffield early in this century, and passed on his experience to Māzinī and ʿAqqād. Māzinī on several occasions acknowledged him: "My guide, teacher and friend who was a mature poet with an individual orientation in literature.

He showed me what to read from Western literature".(34)

However, it must be admitted that before meeting Shukri, Māzinī was already a literary figure and journalist. But Māzinī usually belittled his own achievements in a sarcastic way. ʿAqqād, the third pillar of the Diwan movement remarked that Māzinī was a student in the High Institute of Teachers, and a contributor to al-Dustūr, of which ʿAqqād was a co-editor. Then he got acquainted with him in what he called al-Bayan School, a name that displays the importance and authority of al-Bayān Magazine to the extent of forming a school of thought in literary journalism.(35) ʿAqqād adds that Māzinī, from that time, was a very active participant in the intense discussions of Hazlitt and other outstanding figures in European literature, due to the breadth and intensity of his reading:

> In addition to poetry, Māzinī was reading criticism, and the history of literature by the most distinguished historians and critics. The most beloved ones to him were Hazlitt, Arnold, Macaulay, Saintsbury as well as the elite of writers of literary essays and critical and social columns such as Leigh Hunt, Charles Lamb, Swift and Addison. Among the English novelists, he was fond of Sir Walter Scott, Dickens, Thackeray and Kingsley.(36)

However, apart from the Romanticists, these authors influenced him at different levels as seen from his selected translations. From English, Māzinī translated nine books including works from John

Galsworthy, Oscar Wilde, H.G. Wells and some stories of Dickens, to mention only works relevant to this study. He was voluminous in writing. In his translations he showed a great talent in conveying English texts from prose and poetry into rich and unaffected Arabic. His mastery of the two languages put him amongst the best translators of literature. ʿAqqād, for example, considered him unique in the realm of translation as regards accuracy, elegance and grace. ʿAqqād was particularly impressed by Mazini's translation of Edward FitzGerald's Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam, into Arabic poetry, by which he established himself as the best translator of poetry of his day.(37)

It is exceptional for a slashing critic such as ʿAqqād to shower Māzinī with this outspoken appreciation:

> I do not exaggerate or risk challenge when I say that Mazini is second to none in translating poetry and prose. He has the ability to translate into poetry as he has into prose embodying his meanings with the best words handled with coherence and elegance.(38)

Such translations by Māzinī widened the horizon of modern Arabic language and journalism, bearing in mind that Māzinī's works, like Hazlitt's and De Quincey's, were chiefly written or translated for papers and magazines. And because of this importance they were later published in book form to cope with

the public demand.

Nevertheless, it was his close association with journalism that offered him a suitable arena to increase his literary output and voice his progressive opinions on poetry and literature. His literary career is very similar to that of ʿAqqād with regard to the profession of journalism. He was one of the distinguished editors of al-Dustūr, al-Bayān, ʿUkāz, and al-Akhbār. In 1925 he became editor-in-chief of al-Ittiḥād newspaper, then he launched his own weekly magazine al-ʾUsbūʿ in 1926 which secured success immediately. In all these ventures, Māzinī remained essentially a gifted writer whose main aim was to push forward the modernization movement and establish the Romantic trend in literature. His theory was learnt first-hand from Western sources, mainly English (39) because the Diwān Group was particularly influenced by Hazlitt's criticism and writings on poetic theory. He and his two colleagues intensified the debate on neo-classical Arabic poetry and severely attacked Shawqī and Ḥāfiz in a series of articles deservedly considered as the cornerstone of modern poetic criticism in Egypt.(40) Māzini himself was a remarkable Romantic poet who conveyed the English Romantic mood creatively through his two collections of poems which appeared in 1913 and 1916. Yet it must be admitted that his achievement in poetry was limited and it was his prose that displayed his talent best. Even his

criticism sometimes seems a passing comment and he backed out of most of it at a later stage. But his role in his journalistic criticism was to stir up discussion of Western concepts of literature and poetry. He expressed this attitude in this way: "I was born a writer and so shall I remain, serving my country through journalism".(41) But in a contradictory remark, Māzinī reveals a temperamental response to the transient nature of the press not to say hack writing:

> I do not write for the coming generations, and I am not anxious to secure an eternal reputation. Will the coming generations - like ours - be in need of such trivialities? Are they not worth being written for by their contemporaries.(42)

On more than one occasion, Māzinī expressed his scepticism of journalism because of its ephemeral character and tendency to accommodate hack and hasty writings. He described newspapers as a heaven-inflicted blow to literature due to their uneven praise and exaggeration, at a time showed little care for thorough investigation and a real appraisal of good and bad. As a result, the number of hacks and hypocrites had increased and books were overrun by papers.(43) He believed that journalism tempts writers towards the common place, superficiality, and lack of seriousness because of its aim to offer light writings and entertainment

in order to reach the largest readership. This attitude, in turn, could drive writers into a state of lethargy approaching journalism on its easiest side and the expense of their literary merit. But do these comments from Mazini seem inconsistent and contradictory if we take into account his close relation with journalism and his position in literary life? At the same time as he attributes a lack of seriousness to the transient organs of journalism, he acknowledges their role in the development of his style:

> My literature was purely theoretical, or say a literature that depends mainly on books with a very limited access to life. My style in both poetry and prose was affected because I hardly knew anything except books. Accordingly, this literature came in the form of studies and my poetry was an untrue expression of self and life as if borrowing from old Eastern and Western traditions was more than learning from first-hand experience.
> I was not satisfied with the style of journalism, but the association with people's life through the press released in me fresh fountains of creativity and injected my style with new life. The flexibility in language and style that I acquired was due to journalism which enabled me to write at any time and on any subject.(44)

So the apparent contradiction in his attack on journalism might be attributed to his rebellious spirit and his resentment at being compelled to write regularly to make his living. Some of Māzinī's essays, in fact, give the impression that they were

written in haste and some were incomplete in such a way as to suggest that a deadline had to be met. It is these phenomena that led Abdul Laṭīf Ḥamza, a prominent writer on journalism to say that "journalism is a passing literature",(45) and Shukrī to accuse Māzinī of direct copying from Addison, Shelley, Burns and others as suggested before. These allegations, in fact, had a measure of truth in them as Māzinī admitted himself in his introduction to the second volume of his poems.(46)

But to be even handed one has to deal with each case on its merits and accord Māzinī his deserved position as the best humorous writer in modern Arabic literature. His achievements in the sphere of essay-writing must be honoured in any serious study of periodical literature in the Arab world.

Māzinī's Essays

Regarding the essay, Māzinī might be justly described as the leading exponent of the subjective essay. This type of essay, whether literary or critical is regarded as literature because of its literary merit.

Mazini's prose writings fall within this sphere of subjective writing of which Lamb furnishes a striking example.

Apart from his poetry and stories, the bulk of Māzinī's literary product went straight into newspapers and magazines in the form of essays which

do not amount to the level of serious studies as is the case with ʿAqqād. His works reflect an erratic temperament and impressionistic mind clothed with humour and a powerful imagination.

His language was dignified, fluid, and without mannerism or laboured prose. His thoughts and recollections reveal themselves spontaneously in a vivid style, as Māzinī was primarily concerned with form more than content.

He successfully managed to fuse all these elements to form his individual style that was embodied in his contributions to the press. He always maintained his search for simplicity as a major element in Romantic style. But Māzinī's simplicity led him sometimes to use colloquial words to reproduce natural dialogue or the language of the common man. In writing about Māzinī's novel Ibrāhīm al-Kātib (1931), Hamilton Gibb described his natural dialogue as Western in feeling.(47) But, by and large, Māzinī did not believe in colloquialism and wrote several essays defending the classical Arabic and its rich diction. So his simplicity is better described as plainness. To achieve this plainness and to portray natural scenes, he steered a middle course between colloquial Egyptian Arabic and the classical language. He tended to translate colloquial phrases into simple classical ones so that his dialogue sounds natural and in line with the style he advocated. Māzinī, indeed, was aware of the distinction between familiar

and vulgar style and we assume that he was also aware of what Hazlitt meant by familiar style, bearing in mind that Hazlitt was regarded as the Diwān Group religious leader (Imam). Hazlitt's solution to the problem of conveying natural dialogue seems quite fitting:

> It does not follow that it is an easy thing to give the true accent and inflection to the words you utter, because you do not attempt to rise above the level of ordinary life and colloquial speaking. You do not assume indeed the solemnity of the pulpit, or the tone of stage-declamation: neither are you at liberty to gabble on at a venture, without emphasis or discretion, or to resort to vulgar dialect or clownish pronunciation. You must steer a middle course.(48)

Māzinī, as he remarked, continued his readings in English especially in what Samuel Johnson and Hazlitt wrote on English style, and he appeared to be greatly influenced by the English of the common man. Following Hazlitt in principle, he believed that to write a genuine familiar Arabic style is to write as anyone would speak in common conversation with command of words and usage. The link between Māzinī and Hazlitt can be clarified by the fact that both of them were accused of using colloquial phrases and both defended themselves by adopting a style that steers a middle course between the vulgar and the classical. In "On Familiar Style" Hazlitt said:

> I have been (I know) loudly accused of revelling in vulgarisms and broken English.

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> I cannot speak to that point: but so far I plead guilty to the determined use of acknowledged idioms and common elliptical expressions.

Mazini, on his part, echoed Hazlitt's ideas in his essays on style especially those in Qabḍ al-Rīh (1927) (Grasping the Wind), where he spelled out his views on the familiar style. In "First Look on Ḥadīth al-ʿArbiyya", and "Styles and Imitation", he explained that the primary aim of writing is to convey an idea from mind to mind, or a feeling from one person to another comprehensively. Words, he believes, are not meanings but they are symbols that indicate meanings, hence it is essential to choose the most plain and vivid words to express meanings. He added that a speech that cannot be grasped by readers or listeners, bears no value, and likened it to a thick fog that blocks visibility.(49) In addition to advocating simplicity, Māzinī sprang to attack affectation and mannerism in style, and referred to Samuel Johnson as an example of an essayist who spent his time digging in language. When Johnson died, the bulk of words he coined or those hundreds of words he adopted from Latin were buried with him in his coffin, Māzinī said.(50) The only Johnsonese words that survived were those that filled a vacuum or a need. Hazlitt, on the other hand, had expressed his view on Johnson's search for pompous style more than once:

> The reason why I object to Dr. Johnson's style is, that there is no discrimination, no selection, no variety in it. He uses none but "tall, opaque words", taken from the "first row of the rubric":- words with the greatest number of syllables, or Latin phrases with merely English terminations. If a fine style depended on this sort of arbitrary pretention, it would be fair to judge of an author's elegance by the measurement of his words, and the substitution of foreign circumlocutions (with no precise associations) for the mother-tongue.(51)

No wonder, if we accept the thesis that Johnson, in his pompous style, was influenced by the style of Arabian Nights which appeared in English in 1712 and his short novel Rasselas (1759) was a moral allegory, with Abyssinia and Egypt as its background.

According to Sarah Searight, The Arabian Nights "soon governed the form, though not the content of all kinds of fiction".(52) She added that Steele and Addison were also influenced:

> The allegorical or philosophical tale, with no religious implications, appealed to writers of the period and came into its own early in the century under the guidance of Addison and Steele in the "Spectator".
> Addison in particular liked to use these fair tales to point to the moral in his essays. The virtue of complaisance in friendly discourse is very prettily illustrated by a little wild Arabian tale, he explained. Johnson carried on the same tradition in the Rambler, elaborating tales such as "Hamlet and Rashid" and "Obidah and the Hermit", with "the pompous style of the East".(53)

And she quoted Addison saying:

> The late humour of reading oriental Romances ... though I will not contend it has much better'd our Morals, has, however, extended our Notions, and made the Customs of the East much more familiar to us than they were before.(54)

Coleridge, in addition, was reported as saying that "it was from reading the Arabian Nights, and similar tales of "Giants and Magicians and Genii" that his mind "had been habituated to the Vast ; and I never regarded my senses in any way as criteria of my belief".(55)

From the quotations above one may conclude that the "pompous style" was partly an Arabian quality one may deduce from a re-examination of Steele, Addison, and Johnson. Further, the study of essay-wriring, necessarily, involves the study of style with its relevant implications. However, it must be remembered that Johnson did not squarely dismiss the straightforward style, but he felt it was suitable for certain occasions that demanded plainness, such as journalistic writings. But Johnson, of course, did not mean the superficial style of writing regarded as typical of newspapers. This came to be known later as "journalese", a word that has been brought to a derogatory sense by some hacks. The Penguin Dictionary of Literary Terms described it as "a manner of writing which employs ready-made phrases and formulas, and which breeds its own cliches in abundance", whereas

Webster's Dictionary offers this definition:

> English of a style featured by use of colloquialisms, superficiality of thought or reasoning, clever or sensational presentation of material, and evidences of haste in composition, considered characteristic of newspaper writing.

In reference to this aspect of newspaper writing, Māzinī himself remarked "I do not recall I revised what I wrote or had a second look into it".(56)

A similar statement to this, had come from William Cobbett (1762-1835) who was reported to have said: "the first word that occurs is always the best", and he used not to revise what he wrote.(57) Cobbett also was a journalist and edited his weekly journal The Political Registrar from 1802 until his death in 1835 and he dedicated his periodical to the working class.

It is obvious then, that the over-extended search for the language of common man as a Romantic practice, could lead to a flat style, while the deliberate pursuit of elegance, on the other hand, produces a pompous inflated prose. To steer a middle course, as Hazlitt suggested, seems an ideal prescription provided that the aesthetic requirements of a lucid style are maintained.

No wonder, Māzinī was greatly impressed by Lamb as the most Romantic essayist and became more and more impressed by his personal reminiscences, rich diction, familiar conversation, interest in the past

and even borrowing from other authors. During the course of reading Lamb, Māzinī was obsessed by the way Lamb used to express his experiences and observations, frequently in the form of autobiography, reminiscence and confession, and publish them regularly in London Magazine which served for years as the leading publisher of essays. Lamb, of course, was received by the Arab "modernists" and the Diwān Group with great appreciation as a genuine gifted exponent of the English Romanticism. According to Aḥmad Amīn, Māzinī's contemporary essayist, Lamb's reputation was due to his brilliance in humour and his remarkable ability to blend humour with melancholy, sentiment and meditation. He brilliantly succeeded in fusing these elements and holding the admiration of his readers through his unique style.(58) And, the nostalgia towards one's own past seemed more attractive to Māzinī who produced in this vein many series of essays characterised by introspective, biographical accounts of his own past experiences. The vivid, descriptive preoccupation with the past dominates his familiar essays, an aspect truly ascribed to Lamb, Hazlitt, and Wordsworth. The interest in the past is used by Māzini to illustrate his present character but like Lamb, he "evades the present" and "mocks the future"(59):

> The major part of our mental life is reminiscences of the past and an anticipation, true or not, of the future....

> The mind lives in the past because it fails to understand the present, and can examine only what happened actually. It, precisely, can comprehend only the picture that it feels identical to reality. This means that we live among pictures of the movement of life which we depicted ourselves. The pictures of future in our minds, are mere collage of pictures taken from the past.(60)

The striking element in Māzinī's essays, is his description of past experiences which he recalls in a dream-like narration, typical of Lamb's:

> Yet could those days return - could you and I once more walk our thirty miles a day - could Bannister and Mrs Bland again be young, and you and I be young to see them - could the good old one-shilling gallery days return - they are dreams, my cousin, now - but could you and I at this moment, instead of this quiet argument, ... be once more struggling up those inconvenient staircases ...(61)

Māzinī, in fact, utilized this feature of Lamb's style to the best of his ability so that his style is distinguished by this feature. His biographer, Naʿmāt Aḥmād Fuʾad has indicated that Māzinī's subjective essays remind us of Lamb and Montaigne.

We should bear in mind that Lamb was the nearest English essayist to Montaigne and his personal tradition of essay-writing.

Najm spelled out a similar idea of Māzinī's personal style and Lamb's influence on him. He described Māzinī as witty and humorous by nature

that he could not attempt seriousness or grave consideration. Māzinī, in Najm's view, was a joyful talkative who revealed his inner mind and heart to his readers as if writing under Montaigne's supervision. He tended always to display a true picture of himself and his private life with all its merits and defects.(62)

Lamb's spell went farther in shaping Māzinī's individual style. It took a personal dimension in some aspects such as his method of reading widely and borrowing from other authors or quoting them to clinch one's own thoughts.

In the early twenties of this century, Māzinī wrote an essay entitled "Between Reading and Writing" in which he described his habit and personal way in reading books. He recalled that he used to call at the bookshop at the end of every month and buy what he dubbed as "heavier than a donkey's load". Then he would engage himself in prolonged readings. He said that "books were my best companion in my solitude when I used to dispense with all life's entertainments and go into seclusion among books".(63) In casting a glimpse on Lamb's essay: "Detached Thoughts on Books and Reading", one can easily put one's finger on striking similarities in both habits and views. Lamb, for example said: "When I am not walking, I am reading; I cannot sit and think. Books think for me". And in the same essay

he indicated that he "can read almost everything" and even Lamb did not "care to be caught in the serious avenues of some cathedral alone, and reading Candide or "reclining at my case upon the grass... reading Pamela" as he put it. However, it is noticeable that, thanks to his thorough reading, Lamb's essays were loaded with references to other authors or borrowing from them:

> That a certain amount of his material is derived from actual loans supplied by the quainter writers of the mid seventeenth century, especially Burton, Fuller, and Browne, is perfectly true, as also that the essayist's debt to these for manner and method is even greater than his borrowings of actual matter or word. But a great deal remains which is simply Lamb himself and nobody else.(64)

This perceptive comment is totally applicable to Māzinī's case, whose borrowings, sometimes were so direct that they were called "plagiarism", a word he did not dismiss flatly. Borrowing from English essayists, however, was a common characteristic shared by all the English-influenced Egyptians who worked very hard to establish the tradition of the Arab literary essay. Hunt's essay "On Shopping" for example was adapted into Arabic by Muḥammad al-Sibāʿi in a sketch form entitled "Shops" and published in his book al-Ṣuwar (Sketches). Māzinī was reported to be impressed greatly by al-Sibāʿi who introduced the English sketch to Māzinī and his

colleagues in the Diwan Group. Indeed, the policy of Westernization and the tendency to introduce European models did much to encourage the practice of borrowing. Besides, Māzinī and his co-members of their movement were the leading Romanticists of Arabic letters to whom copying the English Romantic mood did not seem at all pointless providing it could be done without the loss of their individuality. But this aspect is more evident in their poetry than in prose, because the lyrical element and profound imagination of the Romantic mood can be conveyed better in poetry rather than in prose. This phenomenon explains why Shelley was the most influential poet on Arab Romantic poetry particularly in Egypt. Māzinī, for instance, acknowledged a free translation of some of Shelley's poems and stanzas of verse which he included in his two volumes of poetry.(65) In response to this practice, Muṣṭafa ʿAlawī, a literary critic published a slashing article in al-Sufūr Magazine in 1918 exposing Māzinī's plagiarism and his direct copying from Shelley and Burns. ʿAlawī indicated that Māzinī, in his strong support of Westernization, created a form of borrowing based on clothing European meanings in Arabic language. His style, consequently, emerged neither Eastern nor Western in identity, but somewhere in between. In order to cover up his direct borrowings, he tended to interweave - in one poem - meanings copied from Shakespeare, Shelley,

Burns and some Arab classicists.(66) Fuller consideration of the "issue of borrowing" would lead us beyond the scope of this study. But as far as the Essay is concerned, touching on Mazini's Romantic mood will help us to understand his style and its relation to Lamb's melancholy and wit which characterize both their styles. In an essay "Smiling", Māzinī sheds light on his state of mind that affected his reading and writing for the press:

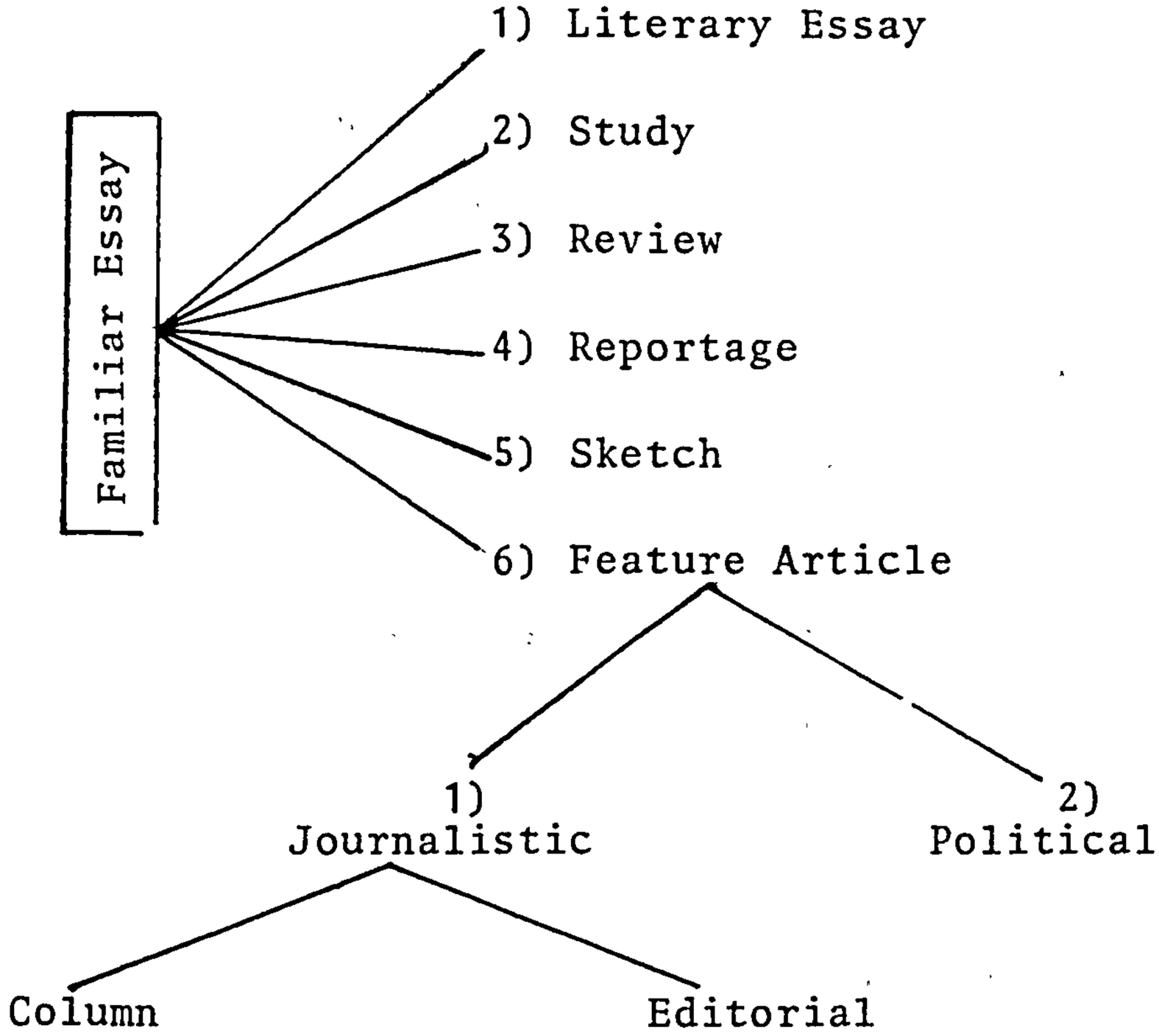
> I came to see death in everything, so that I called my family to surround me and take hold of my body because death seemed horrible at those dreadful moments. I felt a mysterious fearful power was about to snatch me.... (67)

But soon, he wakes up from this dream-like state and starts his familiar sarcasm and biting criticism interwoven in a unique humorous style. This characteristic, indeed, suggests that Māzinī had no plan for his essays unlike ʿAqqād, and he set to his writing the moment he was asked. He indicated that he used to write for radio, just minutes before the due time, a habit that left the impression of haste and even affected the logical sequence of his argument. In Qabḍ al-Rīḥ he described his method of writing:

> I may start an article with the aim of discussing an issue, but soon the pen

> veers towards the wrong direction. It is as if catching the train to Suez instead of the Alexandria train which you are supposed to take.(68)

However, it must be remembered that Māzinī was writing at ease, in any order, without deliberate mannerism but with necessary flexibility as any professional literary journalists tend to do. It is obvious that Māzinī did not bring journalism into disrepute despite his hasty writings. He, on the contrary, looks very much like Samuel Johnson, Hazlitt and De Quincey in their relation with the press. Such flexibility in writing is essential to cope with the deadlines set by literary editors. Thus Māzinī formed his familiar style through writing for the press, setting the model of the subjective essay which came to be his favourite form and on which his name as a literary journalist rests. This subjective essay, can be looked at through its diverse categories which, in turn, show how much Māzinī gave of himself to journalism. The elastic nature of the essay, on the other hand helped him greatly to vary his essay categories. Despite the interchange between the various types of the essay, one can pin down the following categories practised by Māzinī in his contributions to journalism.



The essay and the review have been touched on before. The study in the tradition of Māzinī usually refers to an attentive or careful investigation of an issue or a literary event. Māzinī did not succeed in this form as he was short winded in criticism and his subjectivity was overwhelming. Some of his essays were in the form of "reportage" which he practised to report news or information of general interest. His style of reporting is quite fascinating and marked with biting sarcasm, humour, and witty comments.

The feature article occupies a spacious room

among Māzinī's essays because he held several important positions in the realm of press, such as chief editor, literary editor, and regular contributor during the course of his journalistic career. Being involved in politics and political journalism, he produced hundreds of leading articles or editorials in what was referred to in Egypt as the "political article". His contributions were collected and published in book form due to their significance as often is the case with prominent journalists. In these essays and articles, the personality of Māzinī is the main interest and their function seems to keep readers in the company of a brilliant mind. As a result, Māzinī's personality is revealed in a literary form which can be described as "Literature of personality" that involves biography, lyric writing and the essay. Māzinī brilliantly fused all these forms and condensed them to produce his essay which is largely journalistic in character. His great achievement lies in his ability to adapt the familiar essay to the periodical medium of the magazine and newspaper. He proved that journalism can appropriately accommodate the personal tradition of essay-writing laid down by Montaigne and Lamb. Thus his practice of higher journalism put him in the forefront of essayists.

CHAPTER SIX

SALĀMA MŪSA

- His association with the Fabian Society, G.B. Shaw and H.G. Wells
- The name-review and feature article

SALAMA MUSA

1888 - 1958

> In England, there is a literary form hardly mastered by other than the English. It is the "essay" whose tradition goes back to Steele, Addison, and Macaulay. The English essay has been accorded a position higher than the story and has been practised by all "modernists" and "traditionalists" like G. B. Shaw, H. G. Wells, Chesterton, and Belloc.
>
> Salāma Mūsa, al-Adab al-Inglīzī al-Ḥadīth, p. 95.

Salāma Mūsa is significantly different from ʿAqqād and Māzinī in his approach to journalism and literature. His background differs from that of the Diwān Group, hence his talent went straight to the "feature article" and not to the familiar essay. His English sources point to G. B. Shaw, H. G. Wells, and Aldous Huxley rather than the English Romantic essayists as we shall see later. Yet, his position in Arab literary journalism is of considerable significance. His role in developing the traditional essay into a modern "feature article" or a "name-review" puts Mūsa among the leading Arab modernists. Mūsa recalled that he had been acquainted with journalism since 1897, but it was not until 1909 that he published his first article on Nietzsche in al-Muqtaṭaf Magazine. His journalistic career in fact, throws light on an important period of Arab journalism at its formative stage. This importance arises from the fact that

Mūsa devoted his life to the profession of journalism and was closely involved in it as a writer, editor, and publisher. He launched dozens of newspapers and magazines including the first Egyptian weekly, al-Mustaqbal which appeared in 1914. He remarked that in 1930, for example, the authorities banned twelve of his own weekly magazines.(1) But this ban did not deter him from launching, in the same year, a monthly magazine, al-Majallah al-Jadīda, and another weekly, al-Misrī. And he maintained this close relation with the press throughout his life.

What holds our attention in context of this study is Mūsa's achievement as a writer and a journalist, but not as a publisher or proprietor.

In his book, al-Ṣaḥāfa, Ḥirfa wa Risāla (Journalism, a Profession and Vocation), he displayed his critical views on Egyptian journalism and the pressure exerted on it by the British occupation. This book stands as a mini-autobiography of a prolific journalist.

As a journalist writer, Mūsa started his working life in 1909 on the paper al-Liwa' which had no reporters at that time but depended on essays and articles written by the staff. Then he joined al-Hilāl and al-Balāgh and contributed to the prominent papers of his time. The lack of reporters, except for Reuters agency service, enhanced the position of

essayists and leader writers. The brilliant journalist at the beginning of this century was the one who excelled in essay-writing. This phenomenon was due, partly, to the rise of political parties and their tendency to publish their arguments in articles defending their causes. Mūsa recalls that readers used to buy papers for their articles and not for the news they disseminated. The heyday of the political article in Egypt was in 1919 when the popular upheaval was embraced by all the patriot papers and their famous writers of articles. Mūsa, of course, was involved in this process and had a very active role, both as a journalist and a publisher. But his primary concern was to develop a journalistic language based on simplicity and clarity. He argued that the press is a popular medium of social communication, hence it should address the majority of people rather than the elite. On his part, he strove to handle his articles in a clear, simple style which draws nearer to colloquialism. What was important to him was the style of life, and not the rhetorical style of writing:

> I do not care for what has been said of the style of writing, but I do care for life's style. I disregard the rhetoric of the phrase, but I am anxious to see life meaningful so that we live fully and deepen our knowledge.(2)

However, it must be remembered that Mūsa did not advocate using colloquialism on the ground that writers are artists and that colloquialism is devoid of art. Instead he set himself to advocate a kind of journalistic language capable of expressing deep thoughts without using rare or obscure phrases that hinder the reader. Such language he argues must be accessible by the public.(3) He believed that the ideal paper is a public institution and not a private project. It must sponsor development and modernization and open its pages to promising as well as established writers. It must offer the public real guidance. Such a medium, accordingly, must adopt plain language attuned to the demands of cultural changes and the mass circulation of modern journalism. Thus, Mūsa launched his campaign against classical Arabic and against writers who used rich diction and a pompous style:

> In Egypt, the Classical trend overwhelms the Romantic one. We write in an imitative classical language, yearn towards the past in literature and write on its heroes whereas we hate innovation.(4)

He attaches great importance to the press in spreading popular culture and updating the Arabic language. The question of updating Classical Arabic is not new but Mūsa was ultra radical in his attack on the cultural convention and traditional style.

He put forward the concept of the "popular style" to replace the traditional one. This popular style is not colloquial and not grand but lies in between. Mūsa even argues that modern writers are indebted to journalism for it has shaped the plain language they are using nowadays. In an out-spoken note he remarks:

> The simple, polished style that we use in writing in Arabic nowadays, is not due to the teachers of languages in schools. It is not even due to the former writers or men of letters, but this favour belongs to journalism.(5)

Mūsa believes that Egyptian journalism did the Arabic language a favour in abandoning the excessive use of rhetorical devices and rhymed prose. The journalist, he said, had no time to stare long at his phrases in order to choose metaphors or similies or rhythmical phrases. The transient nature of the press did much to speed up the process of adopting what he named the "popular style". He indicated that the style of Muhammad al-Tābiʿī is the best example of the popular style. He remarked that al-Tabiʿī invented what he described as the "essay-istic news", a form of journalistic writing almost identical with the modern feature article. Tabiʿī, in fact, blended the tradition of the familiar essay with the news story in a plain unaffected style that attracted an increasing readership. It

was in 1925 that Tabi^{c}i introduced this type of writing in two leading weeklies; Roz al-Yūsuf and Akhir Sā^{c}a. In his two weeklies, Tabi^{c}i started publishing news stories or political reports in an article form written at leisure and relatively lengthy. By this method Tabi^{c}ī veered away from the tradition of the preaching article which was used by Muṣṭafa Kāmil in al-Liwā$^{\prime}$.

Kāmil's articles were meant to address the people's emotions and passions in a chivalric style. Such political articles were intended to inflame public feeling against the British occupation. But Tabi^{c}i cleverly managed to acquaint the public with politics through his more convincing approach. Due to his efforts in establishing the "essayistic news" Musa described Tabi^{c}ī as the father of Modern Egyptian journalism.(6) Musa himself was greatly influenced by Tabi^{c}i's method of handling news or political events in a literary style. He believed that a newspaper is like literature, addressing an audience of different attitudes and points of view. Such a paper, therefore, must absorb all activities in science, arts, society and politics. An organ of this kind necessarily must have well-trained journalists who are capable of connecting news with articles in an essayistic form.(7)

It is worth noticing that this popular style gradually found its way to literature after establishing its tradition in journalism. This was

due to the fact that almost all Egyptian writers were closely associated with journalism. They believed that a serious journalist should work hard to enhance journalism to the level of literature. Mūsa once remarked that the brilliant journalist is the one who joined journalism after years of close involvement in literature, science, and arts and then is able to deal with current events in a literary style that increases our knowledge and polishes our thinking.(8) Such a journalist, in his view, should speak at least two languages and visit a dozen big countries and spend there some years contributing to papers and learn literature, science, politics as well as the art of reporting.(9) His typical paper in this respect is The Christian Science Monitor which managed as he said, to enhance the level of journalism to that of literature:

> I do not know in the whole world a newspaper that excels the Christian Science Monitor which heightened journalism to the rank of literature. This paper chooses writers, scientists, sociologists, and artists to edit its news and write its articles. It offers readers not only a literary style, but also social values implied in a simple news story. In its leading articles, it offers philosophical guidance. We Egyptian journalists, are called on to pay attention to the high position that the European and American newspapers reached.(10)

This comes in line with his all-out campaign for

Westernization, not only in literature but in life as well. Mūsa stresses that English literature is closely associated with life, criticizing the English life style more than the style of writing. This English practice contradicts the way the Egyptian men of letters behave. He blames the Egyptians for the excessive care they show towards literary styles whereas they pay little attention to the style of life.(11) John Haywood perceptively described him as "a supporter of the maximum advantages the Arabs can derive from Western techniques and achievements, and an advocate of bringing the Arabic language up-to-date.(12) Mūsa, himself, acknowledges the European influence on his attitudes and views concerning life and literature:

> In 1914, I established the first weekly in Egypt; al-Mustaqbal. I was in the third decade of my life intoxicated by European civilization as I experienced it in the European capitals. Then I advocated a social opposition before the political one and I called on to adopt modern ideals and freedoms.(13)

In his call towards modernization on European lines, Mūsa was greatly influenced by some English authors such as G. B. Shaw, H. G. Wells, Aldous Huxley, D. H. Lawrence and others. In 1909 Mūsa settled in England for a considerable number of years. He met Shaw and joined the Fabian Society and established a friendship with Wells also. He often

recalled in his books that he was obsessed by the ideas advocated by the Fabians. Like the other socialistic intellectuals in the Society, Mūsa advocated socialism through parliamentary reform rather than through a total revolution. He described the Fabian Society as a call towards goodness, dignity, and moral courage. He recalled that he heard some speakers in the Society urging Britain to withdraw from Egypt and then he "loved the English people but hated colonization".(14) Here Mūsa is obviously influenced by Shaw who supported the Egyptian cause and condemned British policy in Egypt in an article he published in 1906. Shaw also mentioned the Denshway event in Cairo in his play, John Bull's Other Island. He there denounced the execution of some Egyptian peasants who attacked British officers in a hunting event when some corn-fields caught fire. Mūsa's friendship with Shaw was very close as Mūsa himself remarked:

> I met him (Shaw) when his beard was red-gold. I talked to him and listened to his speeches and read his books. I got acquainted with him in 1909 and accompanied him until his death when he was ninety-four years old. These years are eternal.
> I studied Shaw's philosophy which offered me guidance. Ever since I did not miss one single word of Shaw until his last days ... My love for him urged me to follow him in his vegetarian diet. I maintained the diet for one year during which I was nearly dying because of thinness.(15)

This admiration of Shaw's way of life is matched by his devotion to Shaw's ideas and style of writing. Mūsa remarks that Shaw considered himself a journalist although his disciples and companions regarded him as a philosopher. To the Arabs Shaw was known as a brilliant playwright, highly intelligent thinker, and creative man of letters. In short, he was an encyclopedic writer who dealt authoritatively with a huge variety of subjects. But Shaw used to describe his talents as "journalistic" because of his concern with contemporary problems. He believes that a serious journalist must treat current problems on a philosophical level.(16)

The philosophical spirit and literary style that characterize Shaw's writings were adopted by Mūsa to a very large extent. These two features, in particular, figure in all Mūsa's writings. He set himself to introduce scientific subjects in a plain literary style as if addressing an audience of modest education. When he talks of Joyce and the "stream of consciousness" he tends to simplify the matter to the level of a classroom. His main concern is to handle complicated psychological or philosophical matters in the simplest style. His aim is always to communicate and be understood. He cares for the content more than the form as he considers himself a popular writer addressing the majority of people. He admits that he is indebted to Shaw in the scientific-literary approach:

> The best thing I learned from Shaw, is this scientific spirit prevailing in my books. Like Shaw, I have a scientific mind, literary style, and philosophical aim. My thinking is scientific whereas my language is literary. Besides, Shaw made me a lover of socialism...(17)

However, one can obviously notice that Mūsa, despite his long companionship with Shaw, failed to benefit from Shaw's talent as a dramatist, and a critic of music and the arts. Shaw, indeed, found in drama a suitable medium to popularise his ideas. He worked as a musical critic for The Star, art critic for The World, and his dramatic criticism for the Saturday Review won him great popularity. But Musa showed no interest in these fields and confined himself to the criticism of society on Shavian lines. Nevertheless one can conclude that he was impressed by Shaw's style which was marked by power of thought and a brilliant use of language. Mūsa remarked that Shaw's style was modern and democratic because he used to write for the masses of people in a popular language.(18) As for the scientific aspect that characterizes Mūsa's style, it can be attributed to his thorough reading of Shaw, Wells, Huxley and Darwin. In most of his books there is frequent mention of authors like Darwin, Schopenhauer, Nietzche, Samuel Butler, William Morris, Beatrice Webb, Freud and others. These names are common in Shaw's writings, a fact that suggests that Mūsa came to know these authors through Shaw. The terms

evolution, socialism, war, revolution and criticism of society occupy spacious room in Mūsa's writings. In all his essays Mūsa's aim is not to tell a story but to convey ideas, a phenomenon that brings to mind Shaw's plays and Huxley's novels of ideas. Most of Wells's novels lie within this sphere as well. Yet, Musa was fully aware of what he took from Shaw. It was Shaw's style that found an echo in Musa's writings. And it was the philosophical spirit that held Mūsa's attention in his borrowings from Shaw:

> He (Shaw) in his style and aims, is nearer to scientists like Bertrand Russell or Henry Havelock Ellis rather than to writers like Kipling or Arnold Bennett. His phrases are precise and devoid of artificiality and decoration. Shaw hates ready-made styles and thoughts.(19)

This comment is particularly acute, for Shaw's mind was brilliantly critical and analytical. When Shaw felt that his plays fell short of offering an adequate analysis of life and thought, he tended to provide these plays with lengthy prefaces. In Mūsa's view, the rise of the essay is due to the inadequacy of drama and story to express the various aspects of life. Hence English literature, according to him, tended to invade new provinces. He singled out the essay as a suitable medium of expressing such areas.(20) He argues that literature must walk

hand in hand with life in order to cope with social and scientific changes. He, therefore, blames those Egyptian writers who backed out from the battle of confronting the present as well as the future. Instead of absorbing the modern changes, those writers turned to the ancient history of the Arabs to establish their ideals. He singled out among the English writers G. K. Chesterton, Hilaire Belloc, and Erskine who took a similar stance by their call for a return to the ethos of the medieval period. Mūsa indicated that these English writers faced total failure and were overcome by those writers who showed intelligent insight into the modern economic forces that changed society. They called for the adoption of new principles to suit the current changes.(21)

It is noticeable that Mūsa lays stress on ideas regardless of the form in which these ideas are to be handled. He wants a writer to change his ideas and even his style in order to come in line with the changes in his readership. He went further to emphasise that the function of a writer is to satisfy his readers. And he gave an example of this attitude from the English literature of the 19th century. He indicated that the English writers at that time focussed on wording and styles rather than thoughts and innovation:

> If we read Macaulay the historian, we admire his elegant style and his rhythmical

> phrases, but we come out with no thoughts. Such also is the case with Sir Walter Scott and Thackeray, the two novelists.(22)

Mūsa severely criticized Macaulay's History of England for its degradation of the Indians and said that the material spirit had spoilt Macaulay's mind in the same way the religious spirit had spoilt Carlyle's mind and turned him into a preacher. In oppostion to his criticism of Macaulay, he expressed great appreciation of John Ruskin who, he thought, combined the beauties of language and thought in a style of delicate eloquence. Ruskin, he said, was able to describe the clouds in fifty or a hundred pages that satisfy readers and entertain them.

However, his admiration of Ruskin, we assume, arises from Ruskin's concern for the working class of industrial England. Ruskin, in addition, is well known for his attacks on such social philosophies as that of John Stuart Mill. Mūsa wrote several articles on Mill and his economic views but did not attack him as did Ruskin. The link between Musa and Ruskin lies in their interest in industrial culture and the freedom of the individual.

But, in his criticism of society, Mūsa was greatly influenced by H.G. Wells whom he accompanied for a number of years. He regarded Wells as a "philosopher of journalism", and the essence of

scientific progress in nineteenth century England.(23) Mūsa, indeed, argues that journalism must have its own philosophy, otherwise it would communicate only at the lowest level. Hence he thinks of Wells as a typical serious journalist who was throughout his life faithful to his responsibilities. In an essay on "Wells, the Philosopher of Journalism", published in his book Hāula' ʿAllamūnī (those, taught me), Mūsa reviewed Wells' achievement in journalism. He stressed that Wells' aim was to bring journalism to the rank of science and literature. He considers Wells as a leading pioneer in establishing journalism as a new form of literature. He added that this new literature had its own canons that must be observed by journalists. Consequently he criticised the "Studies of rhetoric" for its failure to study and examine this new form of literature, or journalism. This failure has been brought about because rhetoric bases its rules on cases that go back a thousand years, while it ignores new forms of literature. Then he concludes that if a writer is judged through the magnitude of his responsibilities, the journalist accordingly must be regarded as the greatest category of writer of his age.(24) He singles out Wells as a typical journalist of this kind, because Wells amply fulfilled his function both as a writer and journalist. He described Shaw's and Wells's writings as excellent

literary journalism. Musa of course was talking from first-hand experience because of his close friendship with Wells:

> I lived with this man (Wells) and loved him. To him, I attribute the seriousness in my cultural thinking and the encyclopaedic trend and horizons of my knowledges. I am indebted to him for my religious trend in journalism as well as writing books.(25)

But it must be remembered that Mūsa clearly admitted that Charles Darwin and his book: On the Origin of Species (1859), had the greatest influence on him and his cultural career. This seems a natural effect bearing in mind that Darwin's theory had upset traditional beliefs and disturbed religious people. Darwin's book contradicted the Biblical account of the creation of the world, then cast doubt on the Bible as a sacred record of facts. Musa was a Copt with a strong faith in the Bible. And he welcomed Darwin's call for a scientific experimentation. Further he remarked that Darwin's book was the best book he had read in the English language. Again, Mūsa admired Darwin's style more than his theory. He even likened Wells' style to that of Darwin:

> The style of Wells, the scientific man of letters, is Darwinian and not like that of Oscar Wilde. If Wells had been asked about that he would

> have laughed loudly in acknowledgment. And if he were able to express himself in colloquial language, he would not hesitate.(26)

He favoured the Darwinian style saying that the style of the philosophical thinking of Darwin is far better than the false or true passion of Oscar Wilde because the art of reason is better than the art of emotion.(27) It is true that Wilde was inclined to regard art and aesthetics with suspicion, and his social essays were impressive. His essays, "The Critic as Artist", and the "Soul of Man Under Socialism" displayed considerable, if naive intelligence. It is obvious that Mūsa favours writers using a philosophical style in handling their thoughts and those who practise writing for the press. He believes that the press widens the horizon of writers, polishing their style and attuning it to the needs of readership. Wilde of course, was not a constant contributor to the press and his style was devoid of Wellsian scientific fantasies. If Wells used fiction as a vehicle for his criticism of society and for his visions of the future, Wilde directed his life to challenge the prevailing outlook of society. However, Mūsa acknowledges that Wells' literature was journalistic or ephemeral. But he stressed that Wells' essays are no less valued than his fictions. Wells started with fiction and ended

with writing essays and books and maintained his standards of judgment. Wells felt that as the years moved on he increased his knowledge and learned new things that fiction could no longer encompass. In this way Wells managed to offer a brilliant example of a serious journalist and a writer of insight.

But Musa attributes much of the success achieved by English writers to the high standard of journalism in England. The newspapers and magazines provide English authors and men of letters with a unique arena to develop their talents and establish links with the largest audience:

> The magazines in England provide thinkers with the raw materials essential for innovation. There is no better means of education in the world than the English weeklies. Despite their small number, they continue to publish political, social, and literary ideas. We might find in England, a Sunday paper with two or three million readers. These papers and those thinkers provide English literature with the media of innovation.
>
> The new trends of Aldous Huxley, D.H. Lawrence, and James Joyce are due to these ventures and authors. They supplied the raw materials that would be sifted and fused in the writer's mind to come out in the form of fiction and drama.(28)

Mūsa argues that the English writers are surrounded by a cultural and journalistic environment that help them think and create. He felt that the press organs were essential to his call which he described

as a "revolution in life and literature similar to that of Shaw, Huxley, Lawrence and Joyce".

During his stay in England he was inspired by the innovative spirit amongst the English writers and journalists. He even wanted the Egyptian writers to follow the English model with which he was obsessed. To achieve this aim, Mūsa urged the Egyptian writers to learn at least two European languages and read the outstanding authors in them. He even wanted the Egyptian readers to fulfil these two requirements, otherwise they would not be described as civilized.(29) Such overstatements brought him under slashing criticism launched by the traditionalists. They accused him of calling on them to change the letters of Arabic language and use Latin ones instead. He was also bitterly attacked for his criticism of the formal grammar of Arabic in an article he published in al-Hilāl in July 1926. But to be even-handed one has to admit that most of the sharp criticism directed at him was unfair. It is well known that Musa published several articles and wrote more than one book on the importance of elaborate language and polished style. He always stressed that language is the foundation of culture and that it is impossible to establish higher culture on decadent language. He described language as the greatest social heritage of any nation.(30) However, one cannot deny that his admiration of European

civilization was sometimes extravagant. He depicted his admiration as a kind of preoccupation with a very rich culture:

> I defected to Europe where horizons were opened to me. There I dreamed and saw different visions. I set to learn English and French and mix with new elements of families and societies. I read books that enlightened my mind and aroused courage in my heart. When I was about twenty, I decided to be civilized and intellectual, and I have kept to this decision ever since. Through English and French, my mind established links with the greatest minds; old and new.(31)

At the death of Shaw, he blamed the Egyptians for remaining silent, while in New York the lights went off for five minutes and in India schools were closed for one day of mourning. This enthusiasm for Westernization and introducing English authors to Arab readers did bear fruit. Mūsa was the first Egyptian author to translate T.S. Eliot into Arabic when he published a translation of The Waste Land and The Hollow Men in 1933. Ever since then Eliot has been the centre of intensive studies in Egypt and has exerted tremendous influence on Modern Arabic poetry and criticism. Mūsa, was also the first Egyptian to write on the "Stream of Consciousness" in Arabic after thorough reading of Joyce, Lawrence and Eliot, though not Virginia Woolf, perhaps because he found the Bloomsbury group rather precious.

Among the leading Arab writers who gave Mūsa his due merit was Ṭāha Hussain. Hussain said that "you read Salāma Mūsa as if he is one of the highly educated English writers".(32) He remarked that Mūsa writes at ease and without affectation on innumerable subjects and issues. Yet, one has to stress that despite being a prolific author of more than fifty books and after a life-long career in journalism, Mūsa received only sketchy criticism and appraisal. Those who wrote on him talked only of his wide range of subjects and the encyclopaedic aspects of his writings. They ultimately failed to recognise the main characteristics of his style. In his collections of essays and reviews, he frequently touched on the issue of style and attached great significance to it. His principal achievement, we believe, lies in his tremendous efforts to adopt a clear and modern language to be used as an effective medium of journalism. This keen interest reveals itself in his essays which developed into feature articles.

In this approach, Mūsa succeeded in bridging the gap between journalism and literature and science. He tended in his articles to handle literary events, philosophical and scientific issues, and offer brief accounts of European authors, using a plain style of journalistic character. Having succeeded in establishing his individual style of article-writing, he did much to adapt the article to a new

form of journalism, namely the "name-review". Although this type of review had been occasionally used in literary journalism in Egypt since the turn of this century, it was Mūsa who made it his personal form. In writing name-reviews he excelled above his contemporaries and showed a great mastery of handling philosophical and literary subjects through accounts of individual authors' achievements. The name-review of which Mūsa is a real pioneer, is a kind of article written to shed light on an author and his major achievements. Most of his books, in fact, are collections of this form of writing which shows his wide range of readings in European authors. In his book, Ha'ula'a ʿAllamūnī (those, taught me), Mūsa introduces twenty authors giving each a ten-page coverage. Among these twenty authors were, Voltaire, Goethe, Darwin, Shaw, Wells, Henry Havelock Ellis, Freud, Sartre, Ibsen and others. Of course, each one of these name-reviews had been published in a newspaper or magazine as part of his regular contributions to journalism. Accordingly, these reviews were marked with his individual journalistic style and his intention to make them accessible to the ordinary reader. However, Mūsa did not descend to the lower standard of the ill-educated man, but steered a middle course. By this method he won public applause and came to be known as the "people's writer". If ʿAqqād was the master of the Arabic objective essay and Māzinī master of the subjective, Mūsa was the master of the feature article and name-review.

CHAPTER SEVEN

BOOK JOURNALISM

- The craft of reviewing
- The English tradition
- Categories
- The review as a species of journalism

THE REVIEW AS A SPECIES OF JOURNALISM

The cultural explosion of the 18th century had enabled Ralph Griffiths and his Monthly Review (1749-1845) to emerge as a unique example in the field of reviewing. Griffith's fair and accurate method was imitated by several English periodicals devoted to the task of giving accounts of new books.

However, the appearance of The Edinburgh Review in 1802 had marked a real beginning of a new style of journalism attuned to the growth of the middle class and the spread of education. The book at this time became a central medium of social communication and publishing flourished and grew into an important industry. The slashing style of the Edinburgh pushed its way to the fore and became widely popular, as there was a great increase in the number of readers eager to learn about books. The growth of the book-market brought prosperity to the journals which won and held the solid support of their readers who were kept informed about the progress of knowledge.

From this time, the function of mediation between authors and readers began to establish and set the limits of an integral type or a species of journalism. Reviewing today, with a heritage of nearly two centuries and a half, has to be approached as a genre essentially shaped by journalism.

Reviewing, in theory and practice, has a definition, a function, and style. There are

specialized reviews as well as sections devoted to book-reviewing in almost every serious journal or paper. Reviewers, over the centuries, have acquired identity and have become distinguished from other writers and critics.

So what is a review? The Shorter Oxford Dictionary defines it as a general account or criticism of a literary work (esp. a new or recent one), usually published as an article in a periodical or newspaper. From this definition we see the close link between reviewing and both journalism and literature and this link began to be forged with the printing of reviews in the earlier pamphlets, which were harsh and summary in their judgements.

While Henry James says reviewing is "a practice that in general has nothing in common with the art of criticism". It seems here that James who wrote much practical criticism and published his best reviews in the Atlantic Monthly, is taking a very purist position which is difficult to defend in the real world of periodical publishing. James here in fact is raising an issue of great importance since the meanings of the words "review" and "critique" are often confused. I raised this question with some of the literary editors in Britain, and all of them see no difference between the two terms. Terence Kilmartin, Literary Editor of The Observer says:

> I do not think there is any real distinction between a critique and a review. The Observer book pages are not an offshoot of the book trade helping to sell books. Of course one chooses for review, as far as possible, good books rather than bad books but in reviewing them our reviewers apply a critical judgement which is so different from that of longer and more analytical reviews in more academic journals.(1)

But a book-page in a paper with two or three million readers, we suppose, is meant to reach a wider audience of different levels. Hence a review giving information on new books is more suitable than a lengthy critique judging a work of art or literature in the light of rules, principles and aesthetic values and analysing the merits and defects of the work. The normal place of critiques is in the specialized periodicals and magazines such as London Review of Books, New York Review of Books and some others.

William A. Webb, Literary Editor of The Guardian spells out a similar stance:

> It is a problem, I try to get three reviews of some length, let us say 800-1000 words on the page so at least three books are dealt with, a length which commits the sort of criteria of review. In other words you do describe the book fully and that you turn around ideas. Reviews can only sketch very briefly and can make one particular point. I do not make absolutely any distinction between a review and a critique.(2)

There are many literary editors who share this idea with Mr. Webb, probably because they think that

a book-page in the quality papers is not subject to any commercial pressure other than advertisements. But a glance at the bunch-review or group-review of novels in The Observer or The Guardian suggests that a distinction between a hasty review and a critique has to be made, bearing in mind the nature, scope and function of each. It may be relevant to quote John Hohenburg, American journalist and scholar, stressing the difference:

> There is a profound difference between a review and a critique. The review is done quickly under pressure, as a rule, while criticism is generally written by someone with expert qualifications after due consideration has been given to a performance, book or exhibit of one kind or another. The monthlies and specialized publications go in for critiques because they have the contributors and the time to do them well.(3)

Henry James again detects a striking difference between the two terms in a way that links "critique" with literary criticism while a review has nothing to do with the comprehensive analysis of a work of art:

> ... Reviewers are the nearest that most people get to most books and that some people get to any books at all; they have become a substitute literature spreading the decay of critical standards, a way of talking about books which obscures and flattens out their differences in adequacy and interest and in the short run the result is that literature is demoralized.(4)

Still, the best definition of a review or a critique is to be drawn from their tradition and the various styles they were handled in. And any distinction between them does not imply any boost to one at the expense of the other, since it has been concluded that reviewing is a part of journalism and a critique is a part of criticism.

Meanwhile, any attempt to examine the function of reviewing must touch on the methods or styles of the brilliant English reviewers of the 18th and 19th centuries who enhanced this approach to books establishing it as a major form of modern writing.

Although the style of reviewers varies widely, reviewing in its formative period established many literary and journalistic conventions that persist to this day. Among these conventions are the review-article, the role of the literary editor, and the general method of reviewcraft. Since the launching of The Monthly Review by Ralph Griffiths in 1749, the average review tended to be based on summary and illustrative quotations with a proportion of critical comment. Most reviews begin with a general statement of the subject and the reviewer's reaction to it in a method that suggests that a review follows the format of feature articles. Any serious attempt to explore the nature of the review must not overlook the pattern established by Griffiths in his Monthly which was based on supplying a form of criticism as well as the summaries

and extracts through which readers were given accounts of new books. This provided a short appraisal of the work under review. Such reviews reached a large audience since readers generally, have not the time or the ability to sift out all the books coming out weekly. To maintain integrity and to ensure impartiality Griffiths issued a number of instructions to his editors and reviewers to be observed in dealing with the work to hand. These instructions came to be known later as Griffiths' principles. Derek Roper, a scholar from Oxford outlined them:

> * He never, so far as he was able to avoid it, allowed a member of staff to review his own books.
>
> * He insisted that members of his staff should not use their opportunities to puff their friends or attack their enemies.
>
> * Voluntary reviews were frequently submitted to the Monthly; usually, of course, because the volunteer had some axe to grind. These Griffiths rarely accepted, though they offered him an obvious chance to save money.
>
> * By ensuring complete anonymity...he made it possible for members of his staff, men active in social, political, and literary affairs, to write without fear of incurring professional enmities or impairing their social standing.
>
> * He rejected emphatically any proposal which endeavoured to secure by undue influence the insertion of a favourable review.(5)

Griffiths was well aware that to publish biased criticism was to risk the reputation of the Monthly

and its responsibility towards its readers. He believed that reviews should serve as channels of opinions and reviewing should be an outcome of thorough and serious investigation. Valueless general remarks with some extracts have nothing to do with honest and deep analysis of a work of art.

It is said that Griffiths was very keen on choosing the right book to be reviewed by the right person. This policy of selectivity was maintained by securing contributors among the most outstanding writers of the age. By this method Griffiths set a remarkable example of serious literary journalism which laid the early foundation of reviewcraft. To Griffiths and to the Edinburgh Review as well, a satisfactory review is one which takes the work under review with the right degree of seriousness and points out real and important merits or faults.(6)

Samuel Badcock, a journalist and critic in the 18th century spoke with a similar voice:

> The critic is not barely to "hit off" a good Thought. He is to produce a Chain of good ones. He must compare - He must argue; he must pursue Argument. Criticism requires cool judgement, Acuteness and Taste.(7)

By applying the standards that accurate reviewing demands, the Monthly Review, the Edinburgh Review, and some others did much to outline a general style of dealing with books thoroughly and then

considering the findings in a brief but intense account, handled in an article of both literary and journalistic character. And because of its influence and popularity, the review gave its name to the periodicals or journals which published this species of writing. From the second half of the 18th century till now, reviewing followed virtually the same procedure. Literary editors, whether in a daily quality paper or in a periodical, converge in the same method of choosing the type of books to be reviewed and to whom these books would be sent. The book-page editor, usually looks at the publisher's list to see what major authors are coming out, looking for what people might be interested in or what to buy. Thus the books page sets out to influence the general reader and convince him or her to buy or read the book being reviewed. A good books-page has the dual aim of entertaining and instructing the readers, which to a large extent governs the method of book selection.

There is obviously an element of the arbitrary in the selection of books for review, since one can only notice about 10% of the books sent in. Naturally, to some extent, the choice depends on the taste of the literary editor, but he needs to mitigate to some degree his own personal preferences in the interests of covering a wide range of subjects. In any given week four or five books will leap to one's attention in a weekly books-page. As for

the rest, the editor usually relies on his own judgement, or sometimes on the advice of his regular reviewers. This method of selectivity is adopted by periodicals but the number of books dealt with by them is usually much higher. Jill Neville of The Sunday Times sheds light on the policy of selection:

> Often I am given a pile of between seven and ten books to sift through. At the very most I can choose four for the following fortnight. Riddled with fear that I might pass over something good, I first sniff them as if they were fish bought on a Monday... next I read the first and last pages of the novels still in the running, and if stimulated by these snippets I embark on the often uphill work of reading the book. This is where one earns one's money. Ploughing through page after page of an often worthy novel which, under normal circumstances one would avoid, simply because it isn't the kind of thing one is naturally attracted to.(8)

A similar voice can be heard in Arnold Wesker quoting a literary editor of The Sunday Times:

> We pack offbatches to reviewers whose field they are; they decide what to review then keep or sell or give them away.(9)

Arnold Wesker himself illustrated the current situation of reviewing as handled by a community of reviewers or regular contributors. He spent six months in The Sunday Times gathering material for a play he intended to write about journalists.

Wesker later changed his mind and printed his experience in a book, Journey into Journalism in which he says:

> Critics clatter in and out to check their copy, pick up new books, confirm theatre or travel arrangements, complaints and gossip. Faces are at last attached to names I've seen each week at the top of a review column: Felix Aprahamian, Cyril Connolly, Julian Symons. One critic asks: "Wouldn't it be better if someone else reviewed this book? I find his writing so awful that I'm beginning to feel it's unfair".(10)

Selecting books for review sometimes is controversial and the intelligent reader may well ask why some are reviewed and others are not. The reviews themselves, may create a heated debate if there is any question of prejudice. Authors on the other hand often complain of being ill-treated by hacks and hasty reviews although most of them are happy even with a cursory mention. One has to bear in mind that authors do not write for reviewers. However, most of them are keen to see their works reviewed and displayed to the public, as all reviews can be seen as a form of free publicity. Newspapers and magazines, in one way or another, are regular free advertisers of books through their review columns and it is usually accepted in the book trade that even a bad review is better than no review, since at least the book does get mentioned.(11)

Authors of first books find it very difficult to be reviewed, since a large amount of space is given to the major authors who are established already. Reviewers are not going to fail to review new books of Graham Greene, Iris Murdoch or Anthony Burgess regardless of the quality of their works. With no knowledge of the author literary editors, usually are more likely to be sceptical. There is a stronger possibility that first books of whatever merit could be dealt with in a truncated space or in a bunch review, while names of stature are honoured with a solo spot. Established authors naturally force their way to the columns of journalism and their works get mentioned automatically. To this the literary editors might argue that the best works invite the best criticism while fresh works need the time to achieve publicity. The new author may seem to be in a Catch-22 situation: he cannot be reviewed unless he is known, and he is unlikely to become known without reviews. What happens is that there are authors who may wait years and years without being reviewed even by a friendly critic. And by such negligence much of the new art produced goes without criticism. What makes matters worse is that most of the weeklies and monthlies very rarely discuss a book more than once and it could be in a hasty review. That review might be the last that authors hear of their work in print.

Wayne C. Booth, the American critic, says of this depressing state:

> Now of course there are never enough sensitive connoisseurs of an art to satisfy the artists themselves, and it is no doubt true that too many artists have excused their own failures by blaming "the public". But everyone knows that the public for serious art is fragmented, and our artists feel themselves increasingly isolated from those who, by their critical responses, might confirm their sense of vocation and drive them to attempt better and better works. If you talk with serious novelists, when they are not driven into idiocies by appearing before a mass audience you hear from them one gloomy refrain: Where are my readers? Where are those reader-friends who will care enough and know enough and attend long enough to discover my art?(12)

It is noted in this respect that authors are usually quick to assume that bad notices or the cursory mention of their books are the work of hacks or possibly enemies. The failure of reviewers to display the author at his best is often the result of a hasty review which could in turn affect the standard of knowledge required or expected by readers. Besides, the criticism provided by reviewing is often too brief or too general to be satisfying. Authors sometimes complain that more space is given to extracts than to the investigation of the work's relative worth. They emphasize that the very task of a reviewer is to describe and evaluate new books so that important writing can be identified.

In this cause they tend to invite the academic critic to bridge the gap between "critic" and "reviewer" and talk to general readers about the practice of criticism, hoping that this could teach them the subtle arts of appraisal. It seems that reviewing as such is a branch of criticism that links the readership with works they would find worthy of reading. Comprehensive reviewing in this sense is a matter of establishing criticism within the sphere of mass art. This aspect of reviewing raises the question: Which few books out of so many should be noticed? And here again the role of literary editors is emphasized since as many books as possible should be seen by the editor and then be dealt with more thoroughly by the reviewer. In this respect one may remember that William Enfield, a writer and reviewer in the 18th century, asked Ralph Griffiths to send him as few novels as possible in order to read enough of each. It is said that Southey got through a large number of books by giving short judgments and long extracts. But Southey is considered by some scholars as one of the hack reviewers of the turn of the century:

> William Taylor and other able men who were engaged in reviewing by the turn of the century; Southey, Parr, Mackintosh. But they as well as the scores of hacks and penny-a-liners were completely dependent on the mercy of editors in their turn dependent on booksellers who financed

> the reviews in order to advertise the books they printed and sold. This meant that praise and blame were almost invariably bestowed on the basis of commercial rather than literary criteria.(13)

To this quotation one can add that personal relationships were a more likely source of bias rather than commercial factors. Coleridge spelled out a fair appraisal of this when he wrote:

> It is hardly possible for an author, whose literary acquaintance is even moderately large to publish a work which shall not be flattered in some one of the reviews by a personal friend or culminated by an enemy.(14)

Politics and religious feelings have sometimes an influence on a reviewer's judgments but this has happened in all periods causing great damage to the reputation of the journals which published such reviews. The fact remains that failure to maintain critical standards has caused a process of decay in the exercise of thought and feeling in the period since both books and readers began to increase vastly in numbers with publishing technology. The current circumstances of the press and modern journalism have had a great influence on the process of reviewing in terms of the space allocated to the books-page. Strict and arbitrary limitation of space is bound to have an adverse effect on the fairness of a review. The greatest victim of the modern trend towards extreme compression in

journalism is the novel which is consistently reviewed in a bunch of four or five; a process known sometimes as a group review. This method is conducted by the book-pages of the quality daily papers as well as by the books sections of the serious Sunday papers. In such handling it is hardly possible to do more than give a very brief idea of the plot. This practice gives the impression that reviewers of this type read only the blurb and glance through a few pages. This might be untrue but such hasty reviews certainly give such an impression. The literary editors argue that fiction is very difficult to review, it does not make a good read and therefore it is allocated little space. Mr. William Webb of The Guardian stresses:

> Unless a novel is quite outstanding you cannot deal with them separately. You deal with them in bunches.(15)

This approach, of course, does not mean more than listing novels alphabetically in a bunch with a brief statement attached to each by which most novelists rightly feel abused. In a single-paragraph review, one cannot tell a reader enough about a book. And if we take into account that reviewing has an influence on the book-market, particularly on first books, then the damage often appears to be devastating.

J.A. Sutherland, the literary critic thinks that "the impact of the English fiction review is heightened by the fact that the London press is the national press and the London broadcast media the national media".(16) And the effect could be worse if the reviewing establishment is run by the group of reviewers dominating the book-pages or as Graham Greene put it:

> The reviewing of novels at the beginning of the thirties was at a far lower critical level than it has ever been since. Gerald Gould, a bad poet, and Eric Strauss, a bad novelist, divided the Sunday forum between them. One was not elated by their praise nor cast down by their criticism.(17)

Of such reviewers Virginia Woolf says that they have nothing to tell the novelists while George Orwell thought they were corrupted. And if one considers the number of novels produced annually, one may conclude that the selection of books to review is arbitrary. Despite the fact that there are more fiction reviews than any other kind, only very outstanding novels lead the books page. Of course there is a kind of novelist who, in some ways writes for himself, but still he hopes that there is an audience interested in the fiction he creates. However one has to admit that reviewing a novel is not an easy task since the conscientious reviewer should read it from cover to cover to grapple with the complexity of the plot and the detailed consequences:

> The novel reviewer must always give reasons for his approval or disapproval of the novel under review and he must show himself to be knowledgeable about modern literature so that his critique is acceptable to serious readers.(18)

It is evident that literary work tends to be much deeper than non-literary writing in its analysis and figurative language and that remarkable works should be given serious consideration. Serious magazines and quality papers tend always to promote their sales and readership through accurate treatment of books. The practice of reviewing, on the other hand, has produced quite different phenomena in the field of popular journalism. Q.D. Leavis illustrates one of these phenomena:

> A novel received with unqualified enthusiasm in a lowbrow paper will be coolly treated by the highbrow and contemptuously dismissed if mentioned at all by the highbrow press; the kind of book that the middlebrow press will admire whole-heartedly the highbrow reviewer will diagnose as pernicious; each has a following that forms a different level of public.(19)

In contrast to this David Holloway, literary editor of The Daily Telegraph says of his paper's attitude towards reviewing:

> What one is concerned about is printing a good quality of review. One cannot consider the saleability of a book when one is considering its reviewability.

> If a book is desperately specialist, it won't be done, but if even one in a thousand of our readers is going to enjoy that book we should review it.(20)

By examining the book pages of the quality papers, it is clear that a sort of tacit agreement has been worked out between literary editors and their reviewers. The policy of the paper, the editor's taste and the wishes of its readers, determine, to a very large extent, which few books out of so many should receive consideration. The fact remains that a critic writing for a paper must think of what the majority of his audience is likely to enjoy. Literary editors may sometimes feel that they are the people to tell us what is worthwhile in the arts, and thus a book page turns out to be a forum for the ideas of the literary editor and his contributors.

However, it might be argued that a review, particularly the essay-review, generally expresses a personal reaction. The reviewer sometimes uses the book as a springboard to express his individual experience and launch his own thesis. But here a reviewer fails both to be a good reporter of the book and to be a central cultural mediator. To break the pattern and stray away from the primary goal of reviewing could lead to denying a reviewer his own popularity among his readership. This is particularly true of those reviewers who develop

their knowledge in the reviewing of new books by serious papers or specialized periodicals. One has, in this respect, to form a distinction between the individual essayist of a personal style and the reviewer reading a book as he should, from cover to cover to weigh the cons and pros of it to establish an accurate judgment.

This method recalls the way of dealing with books in the early stages of reviewing, when certain journals set to establish this species of journalism by adapting themselves to the demands of readership and the spread of knowledge. Their contributors, in turn, adapted themselves to comprehensive reviewing. The following table furnishes an example of the method adopted by some of the leading journals of the 18th century before the launching of the Edinburgh Review.(21)

Novels

	Length of Review	Length of Criticism
Monthly Review	1,500 words	850 words
Critical Review	2,200 "	600 "
English Review	1,300 "	400 "
Analytical Review	1,700 "	400 "
British Critic	2,050 "	700 "

Poetry

	Length of Review	Length of Criticism
Monthly Review	2,100 words	900 words
Critical Review	2,000 "	500 "
English Review	1,600 "	500 "
Analytical Review	1,100 "	300 "
British Critic	1,600 "	700 "

To throw further light on the method of reviewing conducted by the literary periodicals it may be relevant to quote J.W. Roberts:

> Custom had not, in those days, authorized a reviewer to place the title of a book at the head of an article, as a text or pretext to introduce a new pamphlet of his own. He was expected to make the author, and not himself, the most prominent object of attention, to give an epitome of the work which he announced, to scan its merits and defects, and to extract appropriate passages in support of the judgment which he uttered.(22)

Such reviews dealt fairly successfully with the most important poetry and fiction appearing in that period. The average review of a new volume of verse ran to four pages long with a reasonable proportion of criticism setting the limits of the review form. Yet authors never ceased to complain of being abused. Edward Gibbon says of his history: "I have never seen, in any literary review, a tolerable account of my history". William Wordsworth

voiced a similar statement of dissatisfaction with the reviewing of his two poems: "An Evening Walk", and "Descriptive Sketches", by the Analytical:

> They (the two poems) have been treated with unmerited contempt by some of the periodical publications, and others have spoken in higher terms of them than they deserve.(23)

This happened in a time when reviewers took fewer books than later and wrote long leisurely articles, when reviewing was not designed to sell books but to give the reader an insight into what was going on. If compared with the current situation in the quality papers, one may liken reviewing as practised today to a footnote to criticism. And this situation has been worsened by the seclusion of the academic critics into the universities and their tendency to write for the elite. Serious writers find after spending years on a book that they are lucky if reviewers can be persuaded to spend a day or so on it. Further, some of their works are denied a solo spot on the books page of the quality papers. The question of advertising is linked with the space devoted to books and frequently means that reviewers are seldom given adequate room to grapple with an extended argument. But even without advertising one has to admit that there are few media that

allow reviewers enough space to conduct comprehensive reviewing. Such reviews stand in their own right as an integral form of letters and not merely a guide to book buying. As well as being informative, a good review should be stimulating and entertaining in its own right. It should justify its place in the paper or magazine and make a good read. On the method of a fair review it might be useful to touch on D.H. Lawrence in his Essay on Galsworthy:

> Literary criticism can be no more than a reasoned account of the feeling produced upon the critic by the book he is criticizing. Criticism can never be a science: it is, in the first place, much too personal, and in the second, it is concerned with values that science ignored. The touchstone is emotion, not reason. We judge a work of art by its effect on our sincere and vital emotion, and nothing else. All the critical twiddle-twaddle about style and form, all this pseudo-scientific classifying and analysing of books in an imitation - botanical fashion, is mere impertinence and mostly dull jargon.
>
> A critic must be able to feel the impact of a work of art in all its complexity and force. To do so, he must be a man of force and complexity himself, which few critics are... More than this, even an artistically and emotionally educated man must be a man of good faith. He must have the courage to admit what he feels. So Saint-Benue remains, to me a great critic. And a man like Macaulay, brilliant as he is, is unsatisfactory, because he is not honest. He prefers a fine effect to the sincere statement of the aesthetic and emotional reaction. He is quite intellectually capable of giving us a true account of what he feels. But not morally. A critic must be emotionally

> alive in every fibre, intellectually capable and skillful in essential logic, and then morally very honest.(24)

Looking more deeply at the matter of reviewing, it would be useful to specify the types within this form of writing as an integral genre or species of journalism. Reviews in practice have generally been conducted in three dominant forms: the essay, the feature article and the column. But looking more closely at the form with its style and function, one may feel it is necessary to pin down other types of reviewing which could establish and assert their own pattern after years and years of development and polishing. In this respect one has to touch on the efforts of the American scholar and critic Wayne C. Booth to set down a list of the types of reviews. Booth tried to track down four main types, the first two including both positive and negative forms. The positive form Booth considers as pro-author while the negative form is anti-author.

The four main types are:

1) All-outer
   - A - Positive form
   - B - Negative form

2) The Niggler
   - A - Positive form
   - B - Negative form

3) The Displacer
   - A - Essay form
   - B - Proposal form

4) The Summariser

Whatever criticism may be directed against Booth's attempt, it still deserves consideration and due appreciation since it marks a systematic approach to analysing the nature of review. However, one cannot overlook the fact that Booth's analysis of the review could lead to imposing a rigid frame meant to contain all types of the review. The division into positive and negative, on the one hand, is here a sign of vagueness rather than specificity. It seems that Booth is greatly impressed by formal logic and its tendency to categorize. His naming of the types on the other hand may indicate a farfetched terminology albeit its tendency to innovation. Within this context, David Wainwright in his book, Journalism, is more convincing in his approach although his book is designed to be helpful as background reading for new entrants to journalism. He mentioned three major types of reviewing namely the essay, the feature article and the column, but he did not elaborate.

Before dealing with the typification of the review as we see it, it would be appropriate to bear in mind that we are dealing with a branch of letters or journalism and not a branch of science. Therefore, the personal element or the trace of individuality in conducting a review cannot be ignored or belittled. The types we are talking of here are drawn from the various styles of the outstanding reviewers in English writing. And since

man himself is his style, as Buffon said, there must be a considerable element of individuality which wants the review to be informal denying any kind of limitation. Still, this does not mean that styles are contradictory to typification. The main genres of letters were developed and established through styles in their earliest stages. Accordingly, our attempt here to cite the various forms of reviewing is meant principally to throw more light on reviewing and to present the review as a species of journalism. This tendency invites an attempt to tabulate the types of the review as conducted and established through the years in the hands of the most outstanding reviewers and critics. As such they were published by the quality papers and specialized periodicals and generally accepted by the reading public. These types of the review could be cited in the following table:

	Type	Definition
1	The Essay	A relatively long article written by a writer or reviewer dealing with a book or a topic in some detail. The reviewer sometimes expresses his ideas and discusses the book as it should have been written rather than as it is.

	Type	Definition
2	The Feature Article	A kind of background news story put together from the contents of the book. It is more personal than the essay, offering no detailed judgments. It includes a brief account of the book.
3	The Column	A pervasive type of review giving an account of one or more books. If one book is outstanding it will lead the column, relegating the others to a few lines at the end. The novel perhaps is its greatest victim when dealt with as a group. Sharp, witty and precise judgments are demanded from an outstanding columnist.
4	The Critique	A long essay offering comprehensive reviewing and detailed judgments conducted mainly by serious writers or academic critics. The Critique is usually published in specialized or serious magazines demanding as it does plenty of space.

	Type	Definition
5	The Comprehensive Review	A detailed treatment of a given book based on full analysis sifting the goats from the sheep and offering elaborate and reasoned judgments.
6	The Academic Review	An authoritative treatment of a book offering detailed judgments drawn from thorough analysis. This type is conducted by authoritative reviewers who are considered as academic critics or outstandingly brilliant reviewers.
7	The Paragraph Review	A very short statement about a book, saying very little of the contents. Some brilliant reviewers can offer a brief description of a book in a few lines.
8	The Bunch-Review	Sometimes named a group-review, in which a reviewer deals with between three to half a dozen or more books giving a general idea of each in a few lines. The most outstanding book is accorded the top paragraph while others are relegated to the end.

	Type	Definition
9	The Review Article	A personal article using a book as a springboard to express individual experiences and views on one or more issues.
10	The Informative Review	This type of review is meant to offer the reader useful information on new books with general descriptions but offering no detailed judgments. It is closer to advertisement than criticism of the work.
11	The Summarizing Review	Offering a brief summary of the book's topics with some extracts from the contents giving a general idea of the book in hand.
12	The Puff-type Review	Undue or exaggerated praise of a book written mostly by hacks or biased reviewers and published in unserious papers. Reviewers conducting this type are sometimes called scribblers.
13	The Hasty Review	A careless treatment of a book written in haste to match the time limit set by the literary editor. Writers of such types of review are accused of reading only the blurb, the introduction and skimming a few other pages.

Type	Definition
14 The Name-Review	An article written to throw light on an author offering some comments or references to some of his books. Raymond Williams wrote one of Alexander Solzhenitsyn. John Osborne on Peter Hall's diaries (September 1983).
15 The Evaluative Review	This type tends to assess the merits and defects of a certain book in compliance with the generally accepted rules of criticism. The reviewer here attempts to appraise the work under review in relation to other similar books as if marking the work of a student.
16 The Judicial Review	A fair review of books offering short, sharp, and accurate judgments condensed to be contained within the space allotted to reviewer. This type is related to journalism rather than to academic criticism. Only brilliant and unbiased critics can conduct precise judgments within two or three hundred words which suit the taste of the general reading

Type	Definition
	public, and the scope afforded the books page by a particular journal.
17 The Art-Review	A general name given to reviews of theatre, cinema, exhibitions, TV and Radio. The reviewer here has a great influence on the box-office. He has to be an interpreter of art using words to describe music or paintings. Art-reviews in general tend to follow the news story format. They are increasingly published by papers and magazines.

Having examined these types of reviewing, one may deduce that the review as a journalistic form, has been formed and stabilized by the discussions of books traditionally provided by magazines, quality papers and specialized periodicals. Major reviewers, in their brilliance, have clearly had an influence not only on the current of ideas about literature, but also on the craft of reviewing, each making a unique individual contribution to its development. At first they tried to establish their own individual style, but in so doing, they unintentionally enhanced the function of mediation between authors and readers so that it became an integral genre of form of letters.

Such a form of writing with its established entity must have an aim or responsibility towards the reader or towards the work of art itself. The area is best seen in the book pages and the function they strive to achieve. Wayne C. Booth thinks that: ..."the reviewer's primary duty is to come reasonably close to an accurate report on the book's subject matter, thesis, method of argument and general value".(25)

While Terence Kilmartin of The Observer put it this way:

> The main function of book pages in a newspaper like The Observer is to provide a guide to new books in every field for the general reader. Since the readership of The Observer is between two and three million the pages have to be reasonably eclectic and not too esoteric. This does not mean that one tries to identify some lowest common denominator and get one's reviewers to write down to it; but it does mean that as far as possible reviews should be accessible to an intelligent general reader. Inevitably some reviews are more specialized than others. Not every review can appeal to everyone; one is addressing a series of minorities. As regards educational or artistic aims, there is certainly an element of "adult education" in the book pages. Although the books one reviews as far as possible ought to be the sort of books people might want to buy our pages are not an offshoot of the book trade and our function is not to sell books. Very often one will get a distinguished writer - a novelist like Anthony Burgess and a historian like A.J.P. Taylor - writing an interesting and instructive piece on a book which may not be everybody's meat but which will entertain a considerable number of readers. There is no explicit artistic aim but obviously artistic standards are taken into account in the quality of reviewers one chooses and the quality of the books reviewed.(26)

As regards literary criticism, reviewing plays a significant role in the critical process and the interpretation of art. A good reviewer must be an interpreter to the wider world, guiding readers as to what to read or what to buy. He is, in fact, performing a cultural task that is essential to criticism. On this point The Calendar of Modern Letters said:

> The value of a review must be judged by its attitude to the living literature of the time (which includes such works of the past as can be absorbed by the contemporary sensibility)...(27)

The fact is that reviewing kept readers as well as scholars informed about the progress of knowledge and developments in their own subjects. The quietest villages and people of modest education find in the literary reviews a good consumer's guide to new books and literary events and thus these reviews could affect the immediate sales of a book. Relating to literature, a quality books page is considered to have a duty because it can keep up a debate on literary events and new literary productions and tell what is worthwhile in the arts. By stirring up discussions of literary phenomena and trends, a literary books page offers help to writers and scholars as well as to its own readers. It is reasonable to argue that the seriousness of

its critical formulations is the final criterion in establishing the superiority of one paper or magazine over another. New ideas may emerge out of the discussions of new books, a process which can enhance greatly the development of culture in society. Booth again, in an article, refers to this point:

> Reviewing plays an important role in the critical process of working out community consensus of judgment and interpretation of art - which is why people read and discuss reviews after having taken in the work, or even when they don't intend to take it in.... Reviewing does mediate directly between producers and receivers of mass art, forming a privileged and consequential line of communication from the latter to the former - which is why reviews are published and read after a one-time event like a concert.(28)

This point of view might attune well with the fact that people are reading and discussing reviews more than ever, partly because academic criticism has abandoned some of its functions. The art of the elite, to some extent, has become the focus of most but not all academic criticism. A great number of university critics have gone into seclusion giving up the vital function they used to play in periodical and daily journalism. This attitude could endanger the whole culture of society and not only the literary process. The papers nowadays form an integral part of the

modern family and their vitality and influence on cultural life lie in the varied and exuberant pages they offer their readers. Arnold Wesker quotes a newspaperman underlining the popularity of the modern papers:

> We're a bundle of news for a bundle of family. Each section can be used by different parts of the family. Doesn't matter if papa buys us for the business news as long as his wife is happy with the review section and kids fight over the supplement.(29)

The importance attached to the papers and magazines indicates the damage that may arise from severing the academic contribution to the press. Through serious discussions and analysis of new books and cultural trends, literature can flourish and perform its function in society. The creation and sustenance of a serious reading public is of great importance as regards the role of criticism and reviewing. It is a vital equation that demands both sides be brought into balance. The sale of worthwhile books over the years has been boosted by good reviewers although good books generally can survive without reviews and there have always been some readers who bought unreviewed books. There are also readers who do not usually want long reviews in the daily papers. Some people think that books are not necessities despite their

usefulness. However, it must be remembered that a quality or specialized paper will require a review that indicates the significance of a particular book to its particular readers. The reviewer or critic has to bear in mind the nature and level of the audience for whom he writes, but he should not lower his standards of discussion if he is writing for a popular paper. The seriousness of reviewcraft should be maintained while the style can be attuned to this paper or that. But a good critic usually addresses the wide world and not only those readers who are familiar with his writing. Such critics are aware that the book market depends on a reading public which buys its literature and that good criticism becomes good journalism. This combination of critical standards and journalistic flair helps to establish a coherent audience and preserve reading habits. So the function of reviewcraft involves both readers and reviewers and requires serious efforts from both. Any attempt aimed at forming reading habits must be enhanced by serious reviewing if it is to bear fruit. Once asked about his magazine, Scrutiny, Leavis said:

> Shall we look for the effective centres of that indispensable public, the informed and disinterested key-public without which the appeal to mature standards cannot be made or remains a more offensive breach of manners on the part of the critic?(30)

Any culture, in fact, must be on watch against the possible decline and fall of a sustained audience capable of recognizing the finer productions of art and literature. This audience is the most victimized by critical misunderstanding or mishandling of works of art. Improper or hasty reading of a book produces a bad review which fails to ensure the aim of entertaining and teaching. The phenomenon of hasty reviewing has created sceptical views and controversy among readers, and in cultural circles generally. Terence Kilmartin is more realistic than the other literary editors in detecting this point:

> It is of course quite possible that reviewers - particularly of fiction when they have a batch of new novels to deal with - are occasionally guilty of cutting corners. They can also from time to time misunderstand the author's intentions by careless reading.... In the interests of covering a reasonable number of books in the restricted space at one's disposal, some books may be given rather short shrift and brief notice may give a slightly unbalanced impression of a book. But... authors and publishers are pleased to get even a cursory mention ... Another complaint about book pages is that the reviewing confraternity is a small coterie and that reviewing is incestuous and back-scratching. Obviously it is impossible to avoid an element of this since the London literary scene is fairly closeknit and many writers and reviewers know one another.... What is more of a danger is the possibility of reviewers venting their own private vendettas but this is something that one does one's best to prevent. Nothing is perfect in this wicked world but on

> the whole I think the standard of reviewing in papers such as The Observer is remarkably high.(31)

In view of these remarks one may assume that reviewers are mostly not motivated to offer detailed judgments and significant analysis. They are influenced by a number of facts some of which, such as advertising pressures, the readers cannot be expected to know or can surmise. The space allotted to them, the time limit, or the pay itself might be discouraging to the conduct of an accurate review of reasonable length. The policy of the paper, in addition, can be a restrictive factor placing a heavy curb on free exercise of review-craft. Here we recall the 18th century experience of a young man, Hugh Trevor, who had tried to earn money by reviewing. He remarked:

> I entered on my new office with great determination; but I soon discovered that, to a man of principle who dare neither condemn nor approve a book he has not read, it was a very unproductive employment. It is the custom of the trade to pay various kinds of literary labour by the sheet, and this among the rest. Thus it frequently happened that a book which would demand a day to peruse, was not worthy of five lines of animadversion.(32)

This was in a time when reviewers were paid at an agreed rate for each sheet which was sixteen printed pages. Things nowadays are different of course, but the question of payment is still

relevant. The reviewer's payment, to some extent, might determine what scale of treatment is required. Sometimes reviewers have no say in the choice of books since books are assigned to them by the literary editors who are convinced that they are the right persons to choose the books to be dealt with. Not only readers but librarians also are influenced by the reviews since any books reviewed, particularly in the book sections of the quality papers, is likely to be in demand from borrowers. Generally the librarian accedes to the demands of his readers who are themselves influenced by the book pages. In view of the fact that libraries are the principle buyers of books, the reviews will play a great role in the sale of books. Any librarian with no knowledge of an author tends to buy his or her first books in particular if they are treated in one of the book sections. Most librarians admit that the Sunday papers have a great impact on the number of requests for books.

The complex phenomena entangled with the process of reviewing have stimulated a continuing debate on the function of reviews. The domination of certain names and the seclusion of some of the academic critics, in modern times have created the situation of controversy in literary circles described earlier as well as among the readers themselves. Some magazines have devoted a limited space to the audience's responses such as "Reviewers

Reviewed" done by the Literary Review or "Letters to the Editor" in the quality papers. Some readers reacted effectively to this situation, showing great concern for the standard of book journalism. Due to the importance attached to the role of readers in sustaining the standard of judgments, The Times Literary Supplement, for example, published the following letter addressed to the literary editor, (May 6, 1983):

> The Practice of Reviewing
>
> Sir, - I often have the melancholy feeling, especially when I'm not engaged in it myself, that reviewing is a quite meaningless activity. Had the editor sent a particular book to one reviewer rather than another a totally different review would in all likelihood have resulted. This is particularly true of novels.
>
> Take Michael Hofmann's review of Joseph Roth's Job (April 22). He says that its virtues "are more its author's than the book itself", that it is a transitional novel, and that Roth himself "soon came to dislike it". But what he mainly seems to have against it is that "the happy ending is as unsatisfactory here as in the Book of Job: material welfare and emotional surrogates as a reward for ritual devotion".
>
> There is much to argue with here. First of all "ritual devotion", in both the Bible and in Roth, better characterizes the comforters than Job himself. Whatever goes on in the bulk of the book, it is hardly ritual devotion. Secondly, Hoffmann's remarks make it clear that he has little time for fairy-tales, or at least cannot see a place for them alongside "serious" literature. The author of the Biblical Job clearly thought otherwise and many readers over the centuries have agreed with him. I know how many modern rewriters of the Biblical Job story have foundered just here and one of the things

I most admire about Roth's handling of the theme is how he manages to combine the realism of the novel genre with the "happy ending" which is, of course, in both the Bible and Roth, hardly a simple version of that motif. Hofmann also contrasts Roth's Job with "his best work, The Radetsky March, a family epic of great density and beauty - an Austrian Buddenbrooks....". Here again other reviewers might have had different responses. My own feelings are that one Buddenbrooks is already perhaps one too many; and as far as I'm concerned family epics, especially those of great density, can stay on the shelves.

Is there a moral to all this? I'm not sure. But it may be Northrop Frye's point that one will always get something out of reading a critic who loves and admires the work he is talking about, even if ultimately one does not agree with him, while adverse criticism is in the end only the airing of prejudice.

Gabriel Jospiovici
60 Prince Edward's Road,
Lewes, Sussex.

Tom Wolfe, a writer and journalist spells out a similar attitude towards reviewing:

> I was writing mostly for New York, which, as I say, was a Sunday supplement. At that time 1963 and 1964, Sunday supplements were close to being the lowest form of periodical. Their status was well below that of the ordinary daily newspaper, and only slightly above that of the morbidity press, sheets like the National Enquirer in its 'I Left My Babies in the Deep Freeze! period. As a result, Sunday supplements had no traditions, no pretentions, no promises to live up to, not even any rules to speak of. They were brain candy, that was all. Readers felt no guilt whatsoever about laying them aside, throwing them away or not looking at them at all.(33)

So the general outlook for literature at present suggests that the standard of reviewing is not at its best compared with that of the 19th century and the period before the First World War. The expansion of universities after the Second World War absorbed many academic critics and eventually cut off most of them from Fleet Street life. Although academic critics cannot always make a subject interesting to the wider public, there is an urgent need for their contributions to promote the role of literary journalism in the cultural life of the nation. The gap they have created by their seclusion cannot easily be bridged by the other reviewers. On the other hand, the relation between book producers and newspapers has suffered greatly because of financial strain. There was a time in Britain when publishers used to subsidise periodicals to increase the sale of their other publications. It is a situation that invites the criticism of inconsistency, and can be vulnerable to the pressure of advertising. In addition to the regular reviewers and contributors to books pages they almost always have more business than they can handle. Thus only a small segment of the titles pouring out from the press annually can be considered. A books page of a daily paper cannot inspect more than 350 books a year at a reasonable estimate. The element of luck is dominant in winning a place in the draw. But, in any case, the general standard of book journalism

is not so dire as sometimes reported and there are many strong book sections dealing with important new books of the day. Nevertheless, the method of handling cultural events by Fleet Street has to be reconsidered and given comprehensive rethinking if serious cultural journalism is to be maintained.

CHAPTER EIGHT

ARABIC REVIEWCRAFT

- The Arabic tradition of reviewing
- Retorts and refutations

Now it seems sound practice to pause and see how much of this English tradition of reviewing there is in Arab periodical literature. But this cannot be adequately exposed without touching on the traditional method of dealing with books in Arabic.

Traditionally, the leading instruments of literary study have mainly been the commentary and annotation. Although this process seems less creative than writing literature, it came to be established as a literary tradition practised for centuries by what was referred to as "al- shurrāḥ" (commentators). Their explanatory notes and commentaries were handled in the form of detailed and analytical reviewing. These reviews, if such they were, used to be published in the margin next to the texts they were related to. This large-scale process was the only possible means of publishing book reviews at their formative period. Literary books were the focus of al-Shurrāḥ who regarded commentaries as a most important part of literary criticism at a time when books were effective instruments of instruction and entertainment.

It is noticeable that this early category of reviewing was marked by excessive subjectivity and slashing style to a very large extent. And because some of these reviews and explanatory notes were comprehensive and lengthy, they in turn, were

treated as books and given separate names usually in rhymed jingles. These detailed reviews written in response to some given books or a body of ideas were called al-Rudūd (sing. radd), such as al-Radd ʿala Sībawaih 1) (A Retort to Sibawaih), by al-Mubarrid, or al-radd ʿala al-Nuḥāt 2) (A Retort to Grammarians) by Ibn Madhaʾ al-Qurṭubī.

The word "Rudūd" in Arabic implies a note of aggression and severe criticism to which the English "retort" seems a suitable equivalent due to its similarity in sound and meaning. This type of literary reviewing provided Arabic literature with a huge bulk of literature of appreciation that can be classed as judicial criticism. Here the critic reveals himself as a judge pronouncing judgments on literary claims by means of a sort of professional cross-examination. An example of this criticism can be given by al-Mathal al-Sāʾir Fī Adab al-Kātib wa al-Shāʿir, (the timeless proverb in the writer and poet's knowledge) by Ibn al-Athīr (1163-1239). This widely used book had been unfairly reviewed and slashingly criticized by Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd in a lengthy review that mounted up to a book entitled: al-Falak al-Dāʾir ʿala al-Mathal al-Sāʾir. (the turning globe on the timeless proverb). But this biased criticism ended in failure and could not hinder the widespread reputation of Ibn al-Athīr. On the contrary, it proved the triumph of creative

authors over the kind of criticism which had sought to restrain them. The tradition of reviewing outstanding books in this way was carried on to the late 19th century in the Arab world. It reached its acme at the age of decadence under Ottoman rule. Its demise was due to the rise of Arab journalism and the introduction of European models of literary writing. However, there are very rare exceptions such as the case of Ṭāha Hussain's book: Fi al-Shiʿr al-Jāhilī (pre-Islamic poetry), in which Hussain, being influenced by Margoliouth, challenged the authenticity of the oldest poems of the pre-Islamic age. The book evoked immediate bitter responses and retorts, some eight of them in the form of books.(1) He attributed a great bulk of pre-Islamic poetry to later forgeries and detected lack of dialectal differences and some references to other religions. Hussain indicated also that most of the pre-Islamic poetry was not written down at the time of composition, and accordingly, a lot of distortion might have happened. He was obviously impressed by the conclusions reached by some orientalists among whom were D.S. Margoliouth, T. Noldeke, and W. Ahlwart. The Arab traditionalists feared that these findings might be applied to the difficult language of the Kuran.

Whatever merit Hussain's book was accorded, it kept Arab journalism busy producing a unique barrage

of retorts, a phenomenon that recalls Julian Symons' words:

> The commonest way of writing about literature is to write a book about an author, analysing his or her works chronologically to show the developing skill with which the author's developing insights are expressed.(2)

But what Symons pointed to falls in the sphere of "biography" which has become a major form of literature. By fusing history, criticism, and fiction, biography writers managed to secure a distinguished position and their works come to the top of the books given solo position from a point of view of reviewing.

However, it is worth saying that biography in its modern form can be regarded as an elaborate and greatly expanded name-review, a form which has been mentioned earlier.

And it is journalism that made literature available to the whole community. In the case of Taha Hussain for example, it was the Egyptian press more than any other vehicle of expression that made his reputation and publicized his book. Thus, the popularity of the book had been maintained by journalism understood as the whole of periodical literature.

As far as the Arab book journalism is concerned,

the question of reviewing is better seen through the works of the leading Egyptian writers who simultaneously were journalists. They took advantage of the newspaper and the magazine to introduce books whether new or old, translated or written originally in Arabic. The process of reviewing in the Arab press is arbitrary and observes no fixed rules but the personal taste of the reviewer and the space allotted to them. Some reviews were conducted in a sort of self-revelation where we learn very little of the book but a lot of the reviewer's individual views. Hence the criticism of books can best be described as impressionistic. But because of the authority and influence of the established reviewers they were able to determine the policy of reviewing. In addition, some of them were literary editors or editors-in-chief. This easy access to the press allowed Ṭāha Hussain, for example, to review the book Studies in American Literature of which he was co-author. He even reviewed three books by one author at the same time as if conducting a name-review. These three books of Abdul Raḥmān Badawī were on different subjects. In a review of a translated book, Hussain criticizes the author as well as the style of the translator. In his review of Goethe's The Sorrows of Young Werther, which was translated into Arabic by Ahmad Ḥassan al-Zayyāt, Hussain

started his review by throwing light on the necessity of translation into Arabic and ended with praising the literary style of the translator. Most of his reviews were published in al-Kātib al-Misrī Magazine (the Egyptian writer) of which he was chief editor.

Reviewing a book, indeed, involves learning a craft which can only be mastered through the practice of writing a large number of reviews. Thus, with the flourishing of literary journalism and the infiltration of Western critical standards, the process of reviewing achieved a fair degree of celebrity. The traditional reviewcraft was largely concerned with linguistic standards, but soon linked itself with the new methods of Western scientific research. This happened as a result of the enhancement of Western cultural trends that helped create new literary canons. Ṭāha Hussain, in his collection of reviews, Kutub wa Muaʾllifūn: Essays, ʿArdh wa Naqd, (Books and Authors, Essays, Reviews and Criticism) is obviously influenced by the French writer and critic Sainte-Beuve (1804-1869) because of his education at the Sorbonne. While the Diwan Group drew its critical theories from English literary criticism. The most influential names in this respect were Wordsworth, Coleridge, Hazlitt, Mathew Arnold, George Saintsbury, and I.A. Richards. Thorough reading of these authors provided the Egyptian critics with a solid base of literary theory particularly in poetry.

The influence of English Romanticists has been mentioned before. According to Aḥmad Amīn, Arnold's Essays in Criticism (First series 1865; Second series 1888) were among the most popular books in Egypt since the 1920s.(3) In his well-acclaimed book al-Naqd al-Adaby (literary criticism) he devoted a long chapter to Arnold's criticism. Aqqad and Mazini, among others, were largely influenced by Arnold's discussion of the relevance of criticism both to creative literature and to society and civilization. Arnold displayed this in his famous essay "The Function of Criticism at the Present Time". But his essay "The Study of Poetry", had been widely referred to by Arab critics and reviewers. They followed Arnold's view that poetry would supply to the modern world the kind of inspiration that had been afforded by religion. Some Arab critics dubbed a poet as a prophet, a European idea also. Arnold's ideas, in fact, had influenced not only Arab critics, but the whole of 20th century literary criticism. T.S. Eliot, I.A. Richards and F.R. Leavis furnish further examples of the force of Arnold's views.

Richards' books, Principles of Litery Criticism (1924), and The Meaning of Meaning (with Ogden 1923) and Practical Criticism (1929) were already widely used in the Arab universities before being translated into Arabic.(4) Richards' approach to

poetry influenced ʿAqqād greatly, as it was philosophic, linguistic and psychological. This method of criticism is still very much alive and acknowledged Arab literary criticism.

In addition to this, one must note the influence of reviews and critiques translated from English into Arabic. Due to the lack of specialized periodicals, the Arab writers and critics set themselves to translate critical studies and reviews from English and American magazines and newspapers. They naturally discussed these reviews and studies as part of their efforts to promote the craft of reviewing. ʿAqqād, on several occasions talked of his thorough knowledge of the position of English magazines at the beginning of this century. He even set himself to offer his readers brief accounts of some English magazines that carried new book reviews such as Books and Bookmen.(5) In an essay he displayed the method of reviewing adopted by this magazine. In one of his articles published in 1928, he discussed James Douglas's review of one of Hardy's books which appeared in the books section of the Daily Express. Because he was a great lover of books, Pelican publications always held his attention. He used to review books written in English as well as those in Arabic. To illustrate ʿAqqād's attitude towards books we quote an essay published in his collection of

reviews; Sā'at Baina al-Kutub (hours among books):

> Every day the presses release many books, some of which deserve recognition and some do not. In all these books the mind wonders for a while during which one comes across ideas and notes that are worth writing on books' margins or texts.
>
> Let us spend hours among these books; skimming, studying, or scrutinizing. Then we tell the authors and our readers of what these hours dictate in the authors' favour or not.(6)

It is clear from this quotation that ʿAqqād's method of reviewing is the impressionistic one that disregards any laid-down rules other than the critic's taste. Although he opposed subjective criticism, he could not escape it. It is, indeed, difficult to seal off the element of subjectivity from the critical process since likes and dislikes are facts in criticism. In ʿAqqād's critical writings one can easily feel the critic's personality although sometimes it is behind the scenes. His criticism is literature discussing literature from a special point of view. In some reviews, ʿAqqād forgets the book and unintentionally launches into his own ideas that seize the reader's attention. Long ago, Richard Green Moulton, American writer and academic spelled this out brilliantly:

> I do not set high value (I must confess) upon Lamb and Hazlitt as revealers of

> Shakespeare; but I have the highest respect for Lamb and Hazlitt as revealers of Lamb and Hazlitt, and Lamb and Hazlitt are well worth revealing.(7)

Yet one has to admit that it is always difficult to draw a clear line between subjective criticism and objective criticism since the element of taste is involved if we recognize the freedom of creative art. This aspect is quite apparent in ʿAqqād's essays and reviews. He tried hard to show maximum objectivity, but could not curb the assertion of his personal taste. It has been indicated that the essay is the most personal form of writing, in which it resembles the lyric.

However, it must be borne in mind that an individual taste is good taste only when it acts under a sense of responsibility. As long as literature undergoes the process of interpretation and analysis, it yields objectivity. In this process the personality of the critic or reviewer is a significant factor.(8) This is very true of ʿAqqād's reviews in which he displays his personal views. In his review of Sadhana by the Indian philosopher and poet Rabindranath Tagore 1861-1941, ʿAqqād unleashed his pen to expose his views on the issue of woman's freedom. He conducted his review in an article that combines critical hints, memoir, and personal views, all marked with an individual

approach. The title of Tagore's book was obviously used as a springboard to launch the reviewer's declaration of ideals.

ʿAqqād thought that a review must be heightened to the level of creative literature that offers readers both entertainment and guidance. Accordingly the element of subjectivity cannot be brushed aside in ʿAqqād's critical writings since criticism is literature discussing literature.

This subjectivity could lead one to the form of miscellany, but in ʿAqqād's reviewing the literary review should maintain principles "which have their consequences also in politics and in private conduct", as T.S. Eliot put it.(9) Julian Symons linked the interest of a review with the factor of individuality in stressing that "the most interesting literary reviews are generally those which support an idea or a group of ideas, very often embodied in an individual temperament".(10)

The presence of subjectivity in reviews or critiques testifies that the essay, which is a personal medium of expression has been modified through journalism into review, as has been suggested before. But the review still maintains most of the features of the familiar essay. Form in literature is subject to evolution, particularly if it is linked with journalism. The shaping influences of journalism must have some bearing upon literary genres.

The ballad passed into journalism in the form of story, drama with its dialogue into cartoon, and philosophy into editorials and so on. As the years moved on literature had to undergo a modification although the process was necessarily slow. When George Saintsbury talked about John Gibson Lockhard 1794-1854, editor of Blackwood's Magazine, he described his miscellaneous writings as journalism:

> By far the greatest expense of his literary power was upon criticism and miscellaneous essay-and-article-writing, of the kind generally classed as journalism.(11)

The surrender to the miscellany as such, reveals itself in the reviews of ʿAqqād as well as Māzinī who utilized the elastic nature of the essay to the best of their abilities. ʿAqqād was more outspoken than Māzinī and he acknowledged the planless nature of his reviews:

> Our hours among books...., are hours among everything. They may involve all the subjects we hesitated to choose and come out in the form of miscellaneous letters, stories, memoirs, and analysis of personalities as well as description of events and periods.(12)

ʿAqqād here seems impressed by Carlyle's method of writing on books and personalities which is marked by strong individuality. He reviewed Carlyle's

Sartor Resartus (Tailor Repatched, 1833) and expressed his high appreciation:

> Carlyle is one of those few writers we avoid writing about because we believe that an essay or even ten essays will fall short of giving him his due. We have read most of his books and letters and recommended them to many readers. His influence on the Egyptian educated younger generation is matchless.(13)

It is noticeable that ʿAqqād did not recognize any difference between an essay and a review, and entitled his collection of essays, Reviews in Arts and Literature.

In the sphere of reviewcraft, Māzinī is obviously less prolific than ʿAqqād. He is highly impressionistic and temperamental despite his consistent access to English magazines and reviews. His subjectivity in reviewing reveals itself, at its best, in his serialized reviews of Ṭāha Hussain's books, Fi al-Shiʿr al-Jahili and Ḥadīth al-Arbiʿā' (Wednesday Speech). There Māzinī displayed his extreme subjectivity and biting tongue, but failed to dislodge Hussain from his literary pedestal. On the contrary, the campaign against Hussain increased the popularity of his controversial book on pre-Islamic poetry. Although Hussain changed the title of the book and modified one chapter in the second edition, the book enjoyed numerous impressions. ʿAqqād remarked that the popularity of

a given book is not necessarily due to its ultimate value. Some books acquired a reputation because they were translated by leading literary figures or authoritative scholars.

In this respect, Māzinī's reviews had unintentionally contributed to the popularity of Hussain's books. In his reviews he revealed himself more than the pros and cons of the book despite his disclaimer:

> My method in criticism is to look into the bulk of a book's merits compared to its defects. If the merits outweigh the faults, I receive the book overlooking its inadequacy or foibles. But if not, I reject. It is a scale set to weigh. This method outlines how it is possible to maintain justice in examining opinions or works and passing verdicts on them.(14)

Nevertheless, the familiar essay was Māzinī's favourite, but not the review, despite his professional approach to journalism. He showed little interest in examining a given book thoroughly and judging it in the light of established critical canons. Unlike ʿAqqād, Māzinī, in fact, reviewed a limited number of books despite his wide range of reading and genuine love of books. One can deduce that he attached great significance to the creation of literature rather than to the criticism of literature as if he was aware of what James Russell Lowell said:

"Nature fits all children with something to do. He who would write and can't write can surely review",

or Alexander Pope in his "Essay on Criticism":

"That who doesn't win the mistress wins the maid".

Yet Māzinī deserves a place in any serious account of Arab reviewcraft because of his outstanding position in the realm of the essay and the profession of journalism. Besides, his influence on other writers and journalists was tremendous. He and his colleague reviewers, ʿAqqād, Taha Hussain, and Al-Rāfiʿī laid down the rules of reviewing and produced much of the critical theory in the columns of Egyptian journalism.

But what catches the eye in their critical works, except al-Rafiʿī, was the introduction of Western critical standards as well as Western books. The generation of critics and reviewers that came immediately after them, showed a keen interest in translating complete reviews and critiques from English and publishing them in Arab papers and magazines. The books section of the English Sunday papers, the Times Literary Supplement, London Review of Books, and some others provided the Arab literary pages with rich material. The regular reviewers of the British quality papers are now quite familiar names in literary circles in the Arab East. This process, in turn, has

had a bearing upon the function and scope of reviewing. Single poems, short stories, essays, as well as books get mentioned by the books pages in one way or another.

Some Arab magazines even established a tradition of reviewing their own stories or poems in the following issues. Sections headed "Poems of the Last Issue", or "Stories of the Last Issue", were given to prominent authors in most cases. Leading periodicals themselves are usually reviewed in other periodicals or papers. There are now TV and Radio programmes that offer their audiences accounts of new books.

But what is more important in this respect is the quality of reviewing and the authority of reviewers. The lack of seriousness shown by some editors and reviewers has brought the process of reviewing into disrepute in recent years. The political bias and personal relations of critics are always sources of danger threatening standards of judgement and the position of literature in society. The spreading of hack journalism in most of the popular press is considered nowadays as a pervasive phenomenon. Serious writers, on the other hand have shifted increasingly to works written for the occasion in which they look at books as a market-able commodity meant to bring profits. Others turned towards media other than books for the same reason. It seems that they forgot that:

> With the book goes the signed, personal style; with it also goes the library; and with it too go those subtleties of reading and response we call appreciation of literary criticism - a whole body of humanistic activites.(15)

The situation seems dire if we accept the thesis that the book contains much of the institution of literature. And if we add to this the growing seclusion of academics and authoritative reviewers from everyday life, then the current period is a really bleak one, and the magazines that carry reviews will eventually be of the kind Julian Symons pointed to:

> The truly valuable little magazine of today and tomorrow will be small in size and sectarian in approach, confined to a small circle of writers sharing common aims, suspicious of all easy or popular art. Its editors will bear in mind Auden's question long ago, in another difficult time:
>
> "What can truth treasure, or heart bless
> But a narrow strictness?"
> Those after all were the principles on which Ian Hamilton founded The Review.(16)

But, writing for the elite means battling against the current particularly in a society aiming at popularizing culture and education and the book boom is, indeed, one of the cultural phenomena of modern society. Yet it is the obligation of a serious, honest paper or magazine to maintain

cultural standards and train their audience to be capable of meaningful reading. Higher standards among the readers will have to be met if the function of higher journalism is to be maintained. The book is assumed to be an instructive and entertaining instrument, and so are newspapers and magazines. If lack of seriousness and irresponsibility prevail, then the whole process of criticism will become meaningless and the Arab tradition of journalism will die out.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

In bringing this study to a conclusion, I would like to highlight the general argument in the briefest space.

Looking back over the past two hundred years in Britain, one can conclude that literary magazines and reviews were a major influence on social life. The association of writers with the press, in its turn, did much to promote the general level of journalism. Consequently, literary journalism was becoming a secure enough profession to attract talents from the universities so that regular reviewers were recruited directly from Cambridge and Oxford.

In the event critics and essayists had to depend on the periodical press for bread and butter. Hence we find Leigh Hunt, a major essayist, dubbed by the literary circles as a tireless setter-up of periodicals, a fact that demonstrated the close relationship of writers with the organs of the press.

Writers, in fact, played a central role in the cultural life of English society in the 19th century through their rich and serious contributions to the journals. They helped the literary journals to emerge as an established institution.

The Edinburgh Review kept on going until 1929 and The Quarterly Review to 1968.

Close examination shows that the English essay as a literary form characteristically originated in

the practice of literary journalism as in the essays of Hazlitt, De Quincey, Leigh Hunt and Macaulay.

As a comparatively short, investigative and flexible literary form, the essay was always, in the 18th and 19th centuries, the vehicle for most of the important criticism of literature, theatre, and the arts. In short, the essay in the tradition of Montaigne was the principal way in which to write criticism.

The remarkable development in the number and type of newspapers and magazines in the late 18th century, allowed the essay to become more urbane and more suitable for reading by a large public.

It is noteworthy that the growth of the popular penny press provided the essay with a new arena. From the second half of the 19th century onward, writers began to produce short, light essays that could be read at the breakfast table, a phenomenon that indicated a realization of journalistic requirements. Many essays are educational, but their principal function is to entertain; and all of them offer a clear-cut idea of personalities of their writers and their views on the various topics.

One must remember, however, that in the 19th century, the essay became largely a review, a full and lengthy criticism of some book or a formal

exposition of some theory. This development in literary forms is natural if we accept the thesis that whenever a type of literature has once established itself, it remains as a model that begets imitations. By this process, the form maintains itself as a literary species.

With the appearance of The Edinburgh Review in 1802 a new style of journalism was launched. The slashing style of this journal became widely popular and won the support of an increasing number of readers. The growth of the book-market helped the critical function of mediation between authors and readers to establish itself as a species of journalism. For the most part, the reviewers were conscious of performing an important cultural function of safeguarding and maintaining a living tradition. These high-grade literary journalists regarded the application of severe standards as a duty to the authors as well as to the reading public.

With a heritage of nearly two centuries and a half, reviewing has to be regarded as a genre essentially shaped by journalism. Book-reviewing in general is much more established nowadays than it was in earlier periods and books that are worth notice are very quickly despatched. There are specialized reviews as well as sections devoted to book-reviewing in almost every serious magazine

or quality paper. And reviewers, in turn, have acquired separate identity and become distinguished from writers or critics of art and literature.

The practice of reviewing has been generally conducted in three dominant forms: the essay, the feature article and the column. But, in this thesis I have tried to pin down some seventeen types of reviewing which could establish their own pattern after years of development. These types, in fact, establish the case for regarding the review as an integral form of literary journalism.

With the growth of the modern press, these patterns of reviewing won the acceptance of readers. The fact is that the reader who is eager to be up-to-date is likely to find magazines and reviews more alive than formal literature. Readers usually look to the newspaper and the journals as a primary source of literary entertainment.

From the beginning, the term journalism is used to describe the whole of periodical literature.

Those who insisted on a sharp antithesis between journalism and literature are now willing to admit the literary character of the newspaper. They can point to the long list of leading writers who were and are the contributors to journalism or those who published their works serialized in the periodicals.

But since movements towards popularization of the press began to appear in the late 19th century, the question of professionalization revealed itself

more forcibly than ever. There was a feeling that newspapers and magazines should be attuned to the needs of an increasing mass audience and the changes in reading habits. But this tendency towards popularization sometimes backfired when hacks and irresponsible journalists brought the press into disrepute. This led some observers to take a low view of journalism.

They argue that if satisfying the reading public becomes the only objective of the press, this would mean closing the organs of the press to talent and distinction. They indicate, in their argument, that if journalism increases enormously the number of its readers, it is at the same time undermining the power to read through the dissipation of the readers' attention. These who stand behind this attitude accuse those writers who took up professional jobs in journalism of losing their literary prestige.

Whatever might be the background to this argument, writers and critics of art and literature have maintained through the years a strong position in the world of periodicals and newspapers. The fact is that much of the body of critical theory first appeared in the columns of the press.

Any balanced account, for instance, cannot ignore the notice that the question of style received from both the review and the magazine. The reviewers,

on their part, paid language considerable attention in line with the very nature of reviewcraft. The essayists and reviewers, in their efforts to polish and improve the language, did a great deal to enrich the style of the periodicals or newspapers of their time.

This tendency arose from their awareness of the significant role that the press can play in sustaining the cultural tradition of the nation. Besides, the aim of any serious journalist is to reach the widest possible audience through clear and correct language.

However, one has to admit that there have always been hack journalists and some popular papers that have brought journalism into decline in quality. Grub Street journalism has become part of the language and it must not be exaggerated or under-estimated. Increasing colloquialism of expression has been encouraged by the influence of radio and television which tend naturally to carry writing closer to ordinary speech.

Modern grammarians share responsibility for this by their unwillingness to comment on the abuses of usage and good taste as practised by irresponsible journalists and papers.

It is true that a newspaper is a transient organ read by people in a hurry, but this fact should not justify poor style or hasty writing.

The ability to write quickly and well is important and the first requirement in writing for a mass audience is lucidity. Hazlitt's remark, therefore, might be misleading if it is read on the surface:

> "A practised writer ought never to hesitate for a sentence from the moment he sets pen to paper, or think about the course he is to take. He must trust to his previous knowledge of the subject and to his immediate impulses, and he will get to the close of his task without accidents or loss of time".

Hazlitt wrote, it is true, at exceptional speed; but his previous knowledge of his subjects was considerable. For this reason young journalists are advised to read Defoe, Swift, Steele and Hazlitt. They were masters of what some scholars call middle diction.

A newspaper's duty is to relate facts, and the best style is one that conveys those facts as forcibly, briefly and lucidly as possible. Hazlitt himself remarked tellingly that "Every word should be a blow; every thought should instantly grapple with its fellow". However, one can add that a reader of a popular newspaper is not necessarily a person who feels poetry and understands philosophy.

Steering a middle course between "classic" English and newspaper English is the perfect recipe for writing for the press. In the beginning of this

century, it is true that there was a period of decline for the English essay and the review, yet their influence at that time travelled farther overseas. Egypt, a leading cultural centre in the Arab East, sprang to take the initiative in absorbing the richness of English literary journalism.

Despite the achievements of pioneer writers and translators, it was the "Diwan School" or what was referred to as the Saxon School of Egyptian Writers which laid the real foundations of the modern Arabic essay and its allied form, the review.

In this thesis I have tried to stress the importance of this group of three because they were well educated in English literature and Western culture in general. They have benefited from English literary journalism and were profoundly influenced by Hazlitt as well as other Romantic essayists and journalists. Their thirst for reading English writings was so limitless that they spared no effort to acquire books on English literature.

ʿAqqād and Māzinī, for instance, were striving to absorb modern trends in culture and literature to revitalize the Arabic literary tradition. They were intent on developing a modern style encompassing the riches of their tradition and the new genres carried to them by the wind of change coming from the West. It is noticeable that their intensive

readings in English had a tremendous impact on their essays in which they tended to bring into focus what they had learnt from English literature and criticism.

Accordingly they laid the cornerstone of modern Arabic criticism which necessarily entailed the art of reviewing and the critical essay. They were, in fact, the leading exponents of the English tradition of essay-writing.

It happened that they were, like English essayists, journalists depending on the press for their living. The effect of English essay-writing and reviewcraft has been clearly demonstrable in the works of their two leading exponents in Egypt; ʿAqqād and Māzinī, and it is this that enabled this study to trace the impact of English literary journalism on its Egyptian counterpart in detail. People from different cultures can learn from each other.

Literary journalism is likely to go on with us for a long time to come, and to vitalize journalism we need a public practice of the kind that goes on in the best colleges. Academic critics must break their seclusion and talk to the general readers. The overall situation is changing, but it is not hopeless.

I hope this attempt will stimulate others to offer this area more notice at a time when the standard of contemporary Arab journalism is in decline in many areas.

NOTES

Chapter 1

1. Raymond Williams, Culture and Society, (London: Pelican, 1979), p. 48.

2. Isaac Disraeli, The Curiosities of Literature, p. 5., in Q.D. Leavis, Fiction and the Reading Public, (London: Penguin, 1979), p. 120.

3. Peter Acroyd, The Spectator, (6.3.1976)., Grub Street is a former street in London frequented by literary hacks and needy authors. It is now called Milton Street.

4. George Boyce, James Curran and Pauline Wingate, eds., Newspaper History, (London: Constable, 1978), p. 282.

5. C. Gillie, Longman Companion to English Literature, (London: Longman, 1980), p. 102.

6. The Quarterly Review had between 12-14,000 copies.

7. John Mason,"Monthly and Quarterly Reviews", in Newspaper History, op. cit., p. 282.

8. Q.D. Leavis, Fiction and the Reading Public, op. cit., p. 150.

9. Malcolm Bradbury, The Social Context of Modern English Literature, (London: Oxford, 1971), pp. 180-195.

10. Q.D. Leavis, op. cit., p.31.

11. Malcolm Bradbury, op. cit., p. 187.

12. F.R. Leavis, Towards Standards of Criticism, (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1978), p. 1.

13. Ibid., p. 25.

14. The Guardian, January 31st, 1983.

15. Andore Gome, "Criticism and the Reading Public", in The Pelican Guide to English Literature, ed., Boris Ford, Vol. 7., p. 378.

16. A.S. Byat, The Times, February 10th, 1983.

17. James Curran & Jean Seaton, ed., Power Without Responsibility, (London: Fontana, 1981), p. 258.

18. For further discussion of this issue see Malcolm Bradbury's The Social Context of Modern English Literature, op. cit., pp. 171-230.

19. Henry T. Baker, "The Contemporary Short Story", in Q.D. Leavis, Fiction and the Reading Public, op. cit., p. 37.

20. Ibid., p. 57.

21. W.L. Webb, Private interview, 1982.

NOTES

Chapter 2

1. Andrew T. Smithberger, Essays, British and American, (New York: Greenwood Press, 1969), p.v., Introduction.

2. A.C. Baugh, ed., A Literary History of England, (New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul), p. 590.

3. Ibid., p. 813.

4. Essays, op. cit., p. 11.

5. Peter Quennell, A History of English Literature, (London, Ferndale Editions, 1974), p. 117.

6. Essays, op. cit., p. 7.

7. Anthony Burgess, English Literature, (Longman, 1981), p. 130.

8. Baugh, op. cit., p. 807.

9. Alan Warner, English Style, (London, Oxford, 1961), p. 111.

10. Sir A.W. Ward and A.R. Walter, eds., Cambridge History of English Literature, (Cambridge, 1979), vol. v, pp. 26;65.

11. Spectator No. 285.

12. J. Boswell, Life of Johnson, in Alan Warner, English Style, op. cit., p. 120.

13. Ibid.

14. D.W. Jefferson, ed., The Pelican Book of English Prose, vol. 1v., Introduction in English Style, op. cit., p. 131 (1 1).

15. William Hazlitt, "On the Prose Style of Poets", in English Style, op. cit., p. 124.

16. Malcolm Elvin, ed., Essays of Elia, (London: Macdonald, 1952), Introduction, p. xxix.

17. From "Christ's Hospital Five and Thirty Years Ago", written for the Gentleman's Magazine of June 1813, under the pseudonym of Elia Lamb was able to indulge in personal reminiscences excluded from the more formal essay under his own name which was reprinted in his works in 1818.

18. The first number of this magazine was published by Baldwin, Cradock and Joy in January 1820, under the editorship of John Scott (1723-1821), who had previously edited a newspaper called The Champion. The intention was to supply a London Counterpart to the successful Edinburgh publication of Blackwood's Magazine.

19. Essays of Elia, op. cit., Introduction, p. vii.

20. William Hazlitt, Selected Writings, ed., Ronald Blyth, (London: Penguin, 1970), p. 28.

21. Ibid., p. 259.

22. The Norton Anthology of English Literature, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1974), p. 779.

23. This letter was addressed to Mrs Willaim Wardell, in Edward Sackvile West's, The Life and Work of Thomas De Quincey, (London, The Bodley Head, 1974), p. 232.

24. George Meredith, Letters, (London, 1912), vol. ii., p. 333, in Baugh's book op. cit., p. 1321.

25. Alan Watkins, The Observer, 6th February, 1983.

26. See Raymond Williams, Culture and Society, (London: Pelican, 1979), pp. 120-136.

27. Raymond Williams, The Long Revolution, (London: Pelican, 1980), p. 190.

28. English Style, op. cit., p. 39.

29. William Hazlitt, Selected Writings, op. cit., p. 206.

30. J. Middleton Murry, The Problem of Style, (London: Oxford University), 1976), p. 7.

31. Edwin Emery and Michael Emery, eds., The Press and America, (New York: Prentice Hall, 1978), p. 312, and John Hohenberg, The Professional Journalist, (USA, 1978), p. 526.

NOTES

Chapter 3

1. Sarah Searight, The British in the Middle East, (London: East-West Publications, 1979), p. 261. Mrs Searight described Shelley's poem as erudite and classical and quoted this fragment:

> Month after month the gathered rains descend
> Drenching you secret Aethiopian dells,
> And from the desert's ice-girt pinnacles
> Where Frost and heat in strange embraces blend
> On Atlas, fields of moist snow half depend.
> Girt there with blasts and meteors Tempest dwells
> By Nile's aerial urn, with rapid spells
> Urging these waters to their mighty end.

The poem was published by Leigh Hunt in The Examiner, January 1818. Reprinted with Rosalind and Helen in 1819. See Gerald de Gaury and H.V.F. Winston ed., The Spirit of the East, (London: Quartet Books, 1979), p.121., and David Perkins, ed., English Romantic Writers, (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1967), p. 971. As for Keats' poem she said it was the least successful and quoted these lines as an example of awkward compositions:

> Son of the old moon-mountains African!
> Chief of the Pyramid and Crocodile!
> We call thee fruitful, and that very while,
> A desert fills our seeing's inward span;
> Nurse of Swart nations since the world began,
> Art thou so fruitful? or dost thou beguile
> Such men to honour thee, who, worn with toil,
> Rest for a space 'twixt Cairo and Decan ..
> see p. 260.

2. Charles Lamb visited the Egyptian Hall in Piccadilly in 1821's exhibition where Belzoni displayed some of his discoveries in the Egyptian Pyramids, and wrote "Priscilla Plainstitch" for the Morning Chronicle, see Mrs Searight's book p. 200.

3. John A. Haywood, Modern Arabic Literature (London: Lund Humphries, 1971), p. 30.

4. Printed later in Cairo in 1905 and extracts from it are found in Haywood op. cit., p. 72.

5. Ibid., p. 34. Gibb's Arabic Literature 2nd edition was printed in Oxford in 1963. For Gibb's biography in Arabic see Najīb al-ʿAqīqī, al-Mustashriqūn (The Orientalists) (Cairo, 1965).

6. Searight, op. cit., p. 203 and The Spirit of the East, op. cit., p. 153.

7. Ibid., p. 263.

8. Salma Khadra Jayyusī, Trends and Movements in Modern Arabic Poetry (Leiden: Brill, 1977), Vol. 1, p. 24.

9. Muhammad Yousif Najm, Fann al-Maqala, (The Art of the Essay), (Beirut, 1966), p.65.

10. Adib Muruwwa, al-Sahāfa al- Arabiyya (The Arabic Press), (Beirut, 1961), p. 196.

11. Umar al-Dasūqī, Nash'at al-Nathr al-Hadīth wa Tatwwuruhu (The Development of Modern Prose), (Cairo, 1976), p. 282.

12. Ibid., p. 278.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid., p. 279.

15. Ibid., p. 284.

16. Ahmad Hassan al-Zayyāt, Tarīkh al-Adab al- Arabi, 25th ed, (Cairo nd), p. 426.

17. Haywood, op. cit., p. 163.

18. al-Sahāfa, op. cit., p. 445.

19. Hamdī Sakkūt, The Egyptian Novel and its Main Trends (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 1971), p. 9. This book was originally a thesis approved for the Ph.D. at Cambridge in 1965.

20. Jayyūsi, op. cit., p. 149.

21. ʿAbbās Mahmūd al-ʿAqqād, Shuʿara' Misr (Cairo: Dar al-Hilāl, 1972), p. 151.

22. Jayyūsī, op. cit., p. 153.

23. Diāb Abd al-Hay, ʿAbbās al- Aqqad Nāqidon, (Cairo, 1965), p. 97.

24. Jayyusi, op. cit., p. 156.

25. Ibid., see also Al-Zubaidī, "The Diwān School", in Journal of Arabic Literature (Leiden, 1970), vol. 1., p. 39.

26. Abdul Raḥmān Shukrī, "Faṣl Min Nashʾatī al-Adabiyya", in al-Muqtaṭaf, vol. 94, No. 5. May 1939, p. 545. See also Journal of Arabic Literature, op. cit., pp 37-39.

27. M.M. Badawī, "Shukrī the Poet: A Reconsideration" in R.C. Ostle ed., Studies in Modern Arabic Literature (London: S.O.A.S., 1975), p. 30.

28. Ibid., p. 26.

29. The name (al-Diwān) losely refers to the group of the three because the book of al-Diwān (anthology) 1921 contained essays written by ʿAqqād and Māzinī alone, while Shukrī did not write to it. See also Jayyusi, op. cit., p. 152 ff.

30. Diād Abd al-Hay, op. cit., p. 771.

31. Haywood., op. cit., p. 168.

32. Ibid., p. 170.

33. J.A. Sutherland, Fiction and Fiction Industry, op. cit., pp. 88-89.

34. Al-Dasūqī, al-Nathr, op. cit., p. 269.

35. Roger Allen, "Poetry and Poetic Criticism at the Turn of the Century", in R.C. Ostle, ed., Studies in Modern Arabic Literature, op. cit., p. 1.

36. Ibrahim Abdul Qādir al-Māzinī, Haṣād al-Hashīm, in ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Amīn, Nashʾat al-Naqd al-Adabī al-Hadīth, (Cairo, 1970), p. 208.

37. Dr. Ḥilmī Ali Marzūq, Taṭawwur al-Naqd wa al-Tafkīr al-Adabi Fi Misr, (Cairo, 1966), p. 376.

38. Abdul Latīf Ḥamza, Adab al-Maqala al-Ṣahafiyya Fi Misr (Cairo, 1950), vol. 4, p. 100.

39. Marzūq, Taṭawwur al-Nathr, op. cit., p. 377.

40. Ibid., p. 378.

41. Ibid., pp. 380-1.

NOTES

CHAPTER 4

1. John Haywood, Modern Arabic Literature (London, Lund Humphries, 1971), p. 137. See also: M.Y. Najm, Fann al-Maqāla, (Beirut, Dar al-Thaqāfa, 1966), 4th ed, p. 18, and Muhammad ʿAwadh Muhammad, Muhazerāt Fi al-Maqāla al-Adabiyya, (Cairo, 1951), p. 57. And Anis al-Maqdisi, Al-Funūn al-Adabiya wa Aʿalāmuha (Beirut, Dar al-Ilm Lil Malayeen, 1980), p. 220. And Abdel Aziz Abdel-Meguid, The Modern Arabic Short Story, (Cairo, 1950), p. 39. Thomas Chenery, The Assemblies of Al-Harīrī, (London, William & Norgate, 1867), p. 2 and after. And Clement Huart, A History of Arabic Literature, (London, William Heinemann, 1903), p. 133. Huart named the Assemblies as "lectures". See also, H.A.R. Gibb, Arabic Literature, (Oxford, 2nd ed. 1963), p. 101-102, 123-5.

2. Najm, Al-Maqāla, op. cit., p. 19.

3. Abd al-Latif Hamza, Adab al-Maqāla al-Ṣaḥafiyya Fi Misr, (Cairo, 1950), Vol. 1., p. 6.

4. Gibb, op. cit., p. 90.

5. See J. Prendergast, tr., The Maqāmāt of Badiʿ al-Zaman al-Hamadāni, (London, 1915), and Thomas Chenery, op. cit., and P. Steingass, The Assemblies of Hariri, (London, 1897). Clement Huart in his book, A History of Arabic Literature, (London, 1903), uses the word "lecture" instead of assembly which is more literal, see p. 133. The French word "seance" is used very often by English authors which in French means assembly.

6. See Chenery, op. cit., p. 2, and Hamza, Adab al-Maqāla, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 6. Chenery's translation of the Hariri's Assemblies was provided by a lengthy introduction which revealed a comprehensive analysis and accurate evaluation of the maqamat in general despite the remarks of John Haywood in his book, Modern Arabic Literature, op. cit., p. 279.

7. Chenery, op. cit., p. 20.

8. Gibb, op. cit., p. 102 and Chenery's Assemblies, p. 91. See also Albert C. Baugh, ed, A Literary History of England, (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976), pp. 193, 407.

9. Chenery, op. cit., p. 25.

10. Ibid, p. 68.

11. Ibid, p. 2.

12. Haywood, op. cit., p. 13.

13. J. Haywood, op. cit., p. 291.

14. Ibid, p. 51. Haywood offered here a piece of personal reminiscence rather than an example displaying the moral writing or an instinctive reciting. It seems that the difficulty of conveying the linguistic pieces of maqamat is the main obstacle most of the translators faced.

15. Ḥamdī Sakkūt, The Egyptian Novel and its Main Trends, (Cairo, 1971), p. 9.

16. Gibb, op. cit., p. 159.

17. Ibid, p. 160. Even government press organs were almost edited by writers and the popular press was their own private province.

18. Ibid, p. 161.

19. Umar al-Dasūqī, Fi al-Adab al-Ḥadīth, (Cairo, 1951), Vol. 1, p. 336.

20. See J. Haywood, op. cit., p. 137 ff, where translated are two of al-Manfaluti's essays. See also H.A.R. Gibb, Studies in the Civilization of Islam, Vol. II, p. 258 ff, and BSOS Vol. V, part II, p. 316.

21. Salma Khadra Jayyūsī, Trends and Movements in Modern Arabic Poetry, (Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1977), p. 140.

22. J. Haywood, op. cit., p. 141.

23. Al-Manfalūṭī, Naẓarāt (Beirut, 1982), Vol. 1., p.46, II, p. 122.

24. David Perkins, ed, English Romantic Writers, op. cit., (New York, 1967), p. 12. Wordsworth revised his preface to the second edition of the Lyrical Ballads (1800) twice in 1802 and 1805.

25. Naẓarāt, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 37. Al-Manfalūṭī in his famous introduction to al-Naẓarāt stressed the favour writers offer to language, in polishing its vocabulary, inventing new words and meanings, and revitalizing its styles.

26. J. Haywood, op. cit., p. 135 and Jayyusi, op. cit., p. 141. These French works appeared in the Arabic translations as: Al-Shaʿir aw Cyrano de Bergerac; Fi Sabīl Al-Tāj; Majdulin aw Taḥta Zilāl al-Zaizafūn; and Al-Fadhīla aw Paul wa Virgini, respectively.

27. Al-Nazarāt, op. cit., Vol. 1., p. 226. The term "Syria" until the first World War refers to Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and Palestine.

28. Haywood, op. cit., p. 141. For more discussions of his dominant style see also H.A.R. Gibb, Studies in Contemporary Arabic Literature, II, Manfaluti and the New Style, B.S.O.A.S. 1928-30, V, II, 316, al-Dasuqi, Nashʾat al-Nathr al-Hadith wa Taṭawuruhu, (Cairo, 1976), p. 269, ff. and Jayyūsi, op. cit., p. 140.

29. Haywood, op. cit., p. 140.

30. Jayyusi, op. cit., p. 140.

31. Nazarāt, op. cit., p. 51 and the translation is from Haywood's book op. cit., p. 151 in which he did his best to reproduce the Arabic figures of speech especially the alliteration and the rhymed sentences.

32. Romantic Writers, op. cit., p. 568, and Haywood's book, op. cit., p. 138 ff.

33. From Essays of Elia, The Two Races of Men, A Quaker's Meeting, and Newspapers 35 years ago respectively.

34. Al-Nazarāt, op. cit., Vol. 1, Introduction, p. 3.

35. Abdul-ʿAzīz Abd al-Meguid, Modern Arabic Short Stories, (Cairo, 1950), p. 96.

36. Dasūqī, Taṭawur al-Nathr, op. cit., p. 232.

37. H.A.R. Gibb, Al-Manfalūṭī and the New Style, B.S.O.S. Vol. V. Part II, p. 318. Gibb stressed his particular ability for narrating and his success in winning a large circle of readers by his sympathetic presentation.

38. J. Haywood, op. cit., p. 19.

39. Anīs al-Maqdisi, Al-Funūn Al-Adabiya wa Aʿalāmuha, (Beirut, 1980), p. 246.

40. Muṣṭafa Ṣādiq al-Rafiʿī , al-Muqtaṭaf, Vol. 72, p. 23, in al-Funūn al-Adabiya, op. cit., p. 245.

41. J. Haywood, op. cit., p. 19.

42. Al-ʿAqqād, Adab al-Maqāla, al-Risāla Magazine, August 2nd, 1948, published later in his book, Ara'a Fi al-Funun wa al-A'dab, (Cairo, Nd.), p. 266.

43. Zeki Najib Mahmūd, Jannat al-ʿAbit aw Adab al-Maqāla (Idiot's Paradise or Essay Literature), (Beirut, 1982), p. 10. The first edition of this book appeared in Cairo, 1947. The Beirut edition is the second.

44. Ibid, p. 9.

45. Ibid, p. 7-8.

46. J. Haywood, op. cit., p. 137.

47. Aḥmad Amīn, al-Naqd al-Adabi, (Cairo, 1963), p. 99. Amin's definition goes back to the thirties when he was teaching rhetoric in the university. His book has been published several times and the edition used in this study is the third.

48. Ibid.

49. Ḥamza, al-Maqala al-Ṣahafiya, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 5. Hamza believes that the Arab knew the essay one thousand years before the English and that al-Jahiz (d.869) was, in fact, the leading journalist of his era. Hamza's view has been adopted by many authors like Muhammad Yousif Najm in his acclaimed study: "Fann al-Maqāla", op. cit., and Dr. Muhammad ʿAwadh in his book, Muḥazarāt Fi al-Maqāla al-Adabiya, (Cairo, 1951), and echoed ever since by many others.

50. Fann al-Maqāla, op. cit., p. 95.

51. ʿAqqād, Francis Bacon, (Beirut, nd,), p. 82. The first edition of this book appeared in Cairo in 1945.

52. Adab al-Maqāla, op. cit., p. 268.

53. Najm, Fann al-Maqāla, op. cit., p. 101.

54. For more details see Andrew T. Smithburger, ed, Essays, British and American, (New York, 1969), Introduction, and W.G. Bebbington, (London, 1981), p. 117, and T.F. Thompson, Essay-Writing and Model Essays, (London, James Brodie, nd), and Thomas S. Kane, The Oxford Guide to Writing, (Oxford, 1983), p. 56 ff, and F. Najim, Fann al-Maqala, op. cit., p. 91. ff.

55. al-Ṣaḥāfa al-Arabiya, op. cit., p. 437.

56. al-Dasūqī, Tatawwur al-Nathr, op. cit., p. 290, and al-Risāla, May 28th, 1934.

57. Sir Ernest Gowers, The Complete Plain Words, (Pelican, 1980), p. 41.

58. Ibrāhīm, ʿAbduh, Tatawwur al-Saḥāfa al-Misriyya, (Cairo, 1951), p. 22.

59. Chenery, op. cit., p. 68.

60. al-Saḥāfa al-Arabiya, op. cit., p. 428.

61. al-Dasuqi, Taṭawwur al-Nathr, op. cit., p. 266.

62. For further discussion of this point see: al-Dasuqi, Fi al-Adab al-Ḥadīth, (Cairo, 1948), Vol. 1, p. 203.

63. Gibb, Arabic Literature, op. cit., p. 161.

64. J. Haywood, op. cit., p. 140-1.

65. Aḥmad al-Shāyib, Al-ʾUslūb, (Cairo, 1966), p. 94.

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CHAPTER 5

1. G.D. Klingopulos, "The Spirit of the Age in Prose", The New Pelican Guide to English Literature, ed., Boris Ford, Vol. 5, p. 204.

2. ʿAqqād, ʾAnā, (Cairo, nd.), p. 50.

3. Ibid, p. 73.

4. Naʿamāt Aḥmad Fuād, al-Māzinī, (Cairo, 1978), p. 153 ff.

5. Anā, p. 51.

6. Ibid, p. 246.

7. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ramādī, Min Aʿlām al-Adab al-Muaʿṣir, (Cairo, 1960), p. 20.

8. English Romantic Writers, op. cit., p. 608.

9. Ronald Blythe, ed., William Hazlitt, Selected Writings, (Penguin, 1970), p. 197.

10. ʿAqqād, Saʿāt Bayna al-Kutub, (Beirut, 1969), p. 458.

11. English Romantic Writers, op. cit., p. 608.

12. ʿAqqād, Saʿāt, op. cit., pp. 153-99, and these quotations have been translated by S.K. Jayyusi in her book, op. cit., p. 165.

13. English Romantic Writers, op. cit., p. 608.

14. William Hazlitt, On Genius And Common Sense, in English Romantic Writers, op. cit., p. 657.

15. Ibid., p. 609.

16. The first edition of Leavis' book appeared in 1932 and achieved success ever since. Due to its approach to modern English poetry and to Eliot in particular, I translated it and published it in 1977.

17. Jayyūsī, op. cit., p. 168.

18. Haywood, op. cit., p. 21.

19. Abdul-Meguid, op. cit., p. 43.

20. ᶜAqqād, Murājaᶜāt fi al-Adab wa al-Funūn, (Cairo, 1925), p. 253.

21. ᶜAqqād, Francis Bacon, op. cit., p. 82.

22. Alexander Smith, Essays, op. cit., p. 8.

23. ᶜAqqād, Bacon, op. cit., pp. 83 ff.

24. ᶜAqqàd, Murajaᶜāt fi al-Adab wa al-Funūn, (Cairo, 1925), p. 108.

25. Ibid., p. 7.

26. English Romantic Writers, op. cit., p. 7.

27. ᶜAqqād, Anā, op. cit., p. 91.

28. Ibid., p. 92.

29. Ibid, p. 95.

30. ᶜAqqād, Murājaᶜāt, op. cit., p. 101.

31. Edward Sackville West, A Flame in Sunlight, The Life & Work of Thomas De Quincey, op. cit., p. 325.

32. Ibrāhīm Abdul-Qādir al-Māzinī, Sabīl Ḥayāt, (Beirut, 1979), p. 12.

33. Ibid., p. 84.

34. Ibid., p. 83.

35. ᶜAqqād, Introduction to ᶜAbir Sabīl, op. cit., p. 6.

36. ᶜAqqād, Baᶜd al-Aᶜaṣīr, p. 142, in ᶜIzz il-Dīn al-Amīn, Taṭawwur al-Naqd, op. cit., p. 196.

37. ᶜAqqād, Introduction to ᶜAbir Sabīl, op. cit., p. 9.

38. Ibid.

39. Jayyūsī, op. cit., p. 152.

40. Ibid., p. 153.

41. Naᶜamāt Aḥmad Fuād, al-Māzinī, op. cit., p. 391.

42. Ibid., p. 390.

43. Māzinī, Ḥasād al-Hashim, p. 177 in Izz il Dīn al-Amīn, Taṭawwur al-Naqd, op. cit., p. 227.

44. Al-Katib Magazine, 1946, Vol., v, p. 618 in Naᶜamāt Ahmad Fuād, al-Mazini, op. cit., p. 192.

45. Abdul-Latīf Hamza, Adab al-Maqāla, op. cit., Vol., 1, p. 6.

46. Naᶜamāt, op. cit., p. 159. The second volume of his poems appeared in 1916.

47. J. Haywood, op. cit., p. 136.

48. William Hazlitt, "On Familiar Style", Selected Writings, op. cit., p. 206. For Māzini's use of colloquialism, see Hamdi Sakkut, The Egyptian Novel and its Main Trends, op. cit., pp. 22-27.

49. Al-Māzinī, Qabd al-Rīh, (Cairo, 1948), pp. 21-43.

50. Ibid., p. 142.

51. William Hazlitt, Ibid., p. 207.

52. Sarah Searight, op. cit., p. 92.

53. Ibid.

54. Ibid.

55. English Romantic Writers, op. cit., p. 11.

56. Al-Māzinī, Sabīl Ḥayāt, (Beirut, 1979), p. 116.

57. Alan Warner, English Style, op. cit., p. 143, and Essays, British and American, op. cit., p. 95. Cobbet advised in his Grammar of the English Language, 1818; "Use the first words that occur to you, and never attempt to alter thoughts; for that which has come of itself into your mind is likely to pass into that of another more readily and with more effect than which you can, by reflection, invent". See Hazlitt, Selected Writings, op. cit., p. 498.

58. Aḥmad Amīn, al-Naqd al-Adabī, op. cit., p. 330.

59. William Hazlitt, Selected Writings, op. cit., p. 255.

60. Māzinī, Sabīl Ḥayāt, op. cit., pp. 125-6.

61. Charles Lamb, "Old China", in Essays, British and American, op. cit., p. 91.

62. Fann al-Maqāla, op. cit., pp. 86-7.

63. Māzinī, Qabḍ al-Rīh, op. cit., p. 7.

64. George Saintsbury, A Short History of English Literature, (London, 1903), p. 700.

65. Naʿmāt, op. cit., pp. 154-163.

66. Ibid., p. 155, and al-Sufūr Magazine, 14th March, 1918.

67. Māzinī, Sabīl-Hayāt, op. cit., p. 65.

68. Māzinī, Qabḍ al-Rīh, op. cit., p. 13.

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Chapter 6

1. Salāma Mūsa, al-Ṣahāfa, Ḥirfa wa Risāla, (Cairo, nd), p. 49.

2. Salāma Mūsa, Ha'ulā' 'allamūnī, (Cairo, 1965), pp. 9-12.

3. Mūsa, al-Ṣaḥafa, op. cit., p. 46.

4. Mūsa, Al-Adab al-Inglīzī al-Ḥadīth (Cairo, 1978)

5. al-Sahafa, op. cit., p. 45.

6. Ibid., p. 94.

7. Ibid., p. 114.

8. Ibid., p. 110.

9. Ibid., p. 64.

10. Ibid., p. 110.

11. Mūsa, Al-Adab al-Inglīzī, op. cit, p. 5.

12. John Haywood, op. cit., p. 208.

13. Mūsa, al-Ṣahāfa, op. cit., p.79.

14. Mūsa, Ha'ulā' i 'allamūnī, op. cit., p. 9.

15. Ibid., p. 215 ff.

16. Mūsa, Ha'ula' 'allamūnī, op. cit., p. 219.

17. Ibid., p. 226.

18. Ibid., p. 221.

19. Mūsa, al-Adab al-Inglīzī, op. cit., p. 70.

20. Ibid, p. 96.

21. Ibid, p. 26.

22. Ibid, p. 10.

23. Ha'ula' 'allamūnī, op. cit., p. 251.

24. Ibid., p. 242.

25. Ibid., p. 245.

26. Mūsa, al-Adab al-Inglīzī, op. cit., p. 108.

27. Ibid., p. 27.

28. Ibid., p. 123.

29. Haula' ʿallamūnī, op. cit., p. 20.

30. Mūsa, Mā Hia al-Nahḍa, (Cairo, nd), p. 117.

31. Haula ʿallamūnī, op. cit., pp. 8-9.

32. Ṭāha Hussain, Ḥadīth al-Arbiʿa'a, (Beirut, 1974), p. 677.

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Chapter 7

1. Private interview.

2. Private interview.

3. John Hohenburg, The Professional Journalist, (New York: Holt Rinehart Winston, 1978), p. 509.

4. Andor Comme, Criticism and the Reading Public, quoted in Pelican Guide to English Literature (1981), Vol. 7, p. 371.

5. Derek Roper, Reviewing before The Edinburgh, (New York: Methuen, 1978), p. 34.

6. Ibid, p. 47.

7. Ibid, p. 44.

8. J.A. Sutherland, Fiction and Fiction Industry, (London: Athlone, 1978), p. 93.

9. Arnold Wesker, Journey into Journalism, (London: Writers and Readers, 1977), p. 53.

10. Ibid, p. 53.

11. Peter H. Mann, From Author to Reader, (London: Peter H. Mann, 1982), p. 21.

12. Paul Hernadi, ed., What is Criticism?, (New York: Indiana University Press, 1981), p. 171. In discussing the typification of reviews, I have made use of Booth's article, Three Functions of Reviewing at the Present Times, published in: The Horizon of Literature, ed., by Paul Hernadi (University of Nebraska, 1982) pp. 261-281.

13. Reviewing before The Edinburgh, op. cit., p. 28.

14. Lewis Patton, ed., The Watchman, (New York: Princeton, 1970), p. 15.

15. Private interview.

16. Fiction and Fiction Industry, op. cit.; pp. 84-103.

17. Graham Greene, A Sort of Life, (London: Penguin, 1971), p. 199.

18. From Author to Reader, op. cit., p. 36.

19. Q.D. Leavis, Fiction and the Reading Public, (Pelican, 1979), p. 32.

20. The Bookseller, 28.2.1976.

21. Reviewing before The Edinburgh, op. cit., p. 42.

22. Ibid, p. 41.

23. Ibid, p. 85.

24. Boris Ford, ed., The Pelican Guide to English Literature, (Pelican, 1979), Vol. 7, p. 391.

25. What is Criticism?, op. cit., p. 263.

26. Private interview.

27. F.R. Leavis, Towards Standards of Criticism, (London, 1978), p. 182.

28. What is Criticism?, op. cit., p. 182.

29. Journey into Journalism, op. cit., p. 92.

30. Malcolm Bradbury, The Social Context of Modern English Literature, (London, 1971), p. 179.

31. Private interview.

32. Reviewing before The Edinburgh, op. cit., p. 40.

33. Tom Wolfe, The New Journalism, (London: Picador, 1975), p. 29.

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Chapter 8

1. For a discussion of this issue in English see: Pierre Cachia, Taha Husayn, (London, 1956). Apart from hundreds of essays, the eight books written were unique examples in modern Arabic literature, of slashing retorts. They are:

   1. Muhammad Farīd Wajdī, Naqd al-Shi'r al-Jāhilī.

   2. M.S. al-Rāfi'i, Taḥta Rāyat al-Kuran.

   3. Muhammad al-Khidr Hussain, Naqd al-Shi'r al-Jahili.

   4. Muhammad Lutfi Jum'aa, al-Shihāb al-Rāṣid.

   5. Muhammad Ahmad al-Ghamrāwī, al-Naqd al-Taḥlīlī Li Kitāb Fi al-Adab al-Jāhilī.

   6. Muhammad al-Khudarī, Muḥāḍarāt Fi bayan al-Akhṭa'a al-'Ilmiyya wa al-Ta'arikhiyya Fi Kitāb al-Shi'r al-Jahili.

   7. Muhammad Hussain, al-Shi'r al-Jāhilī wa al-Radd 'Alaih.

   8. Sheik Muhammad 'Arafa, Naqdh Maṭa'in Fi al-Kuran al-Karim.

2. Julian Symons, Critical Observations, (London:Faber, 1981), p. 118.

3. Ahmad Amīn, al-Naqd al-Adabi, op. cit., pp. 388-97.

4. M.M. Badawī has translated Richards's following books in an authoritative translation:

   1. Principles of Literary Criticism

   2. Science and Poetry

5. 'Aqqād, Sā'at Bain al-Kutub, op. cit., p. 75.

6. Ibid, p. 18.

7. Richard Green Moulton, The Modern Study of Literature, (New York: Chicago University Press, 1919), p. 325.

8. Ibid, p. 322.

9. Julian Symons, Critical Observations, op. cit., p. 119.

10. Ibid.

11. George Saintsbury, A Short History of English Literature, (Op. cit.,), p. 698.

12. Sā'at, op. cit., p. 21.

13. Ibid, p. 224.

14. Na'amāt Aḥmad Fuād, al-Māzinī, op. cit., p. 272.

15. Malcolm Bradbury, Social Context of Modern English Literature, op. cit., p. 199.

16. Critical Observations, op. cit., p. 118.

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